

FOCUS
MIDWEST

63



CAN WE RISK FREE SPEECH?

Alexander Polikoff

ex- ex- **ex-**

Disk Jockey Dan Sorkin

Ed Sachs



THE MANAGEMENT OF ART

Robert Ahrens

CHARGES PUBLISHERS WITH SUPPRESSING NEWS

Irving Dilliard

OUT OF FOCUS

(Readers are invited to submit items for publication, indicating whether the sender can be identified. Items must be fully documented and not require any comment.)

While Illinois HB 753, appropriating funds for research on transmissible gastroenteritis and other diseases of swine and stock was approved, HB 261 providing for the testing of newborn infants for phenylketonuria, which leads to mental retardation, was defeated

The University of Illinois has set up a research project into the process of human learning in which a computer will monitor a battery of 14 teaching machines. The research program will be called "Socrates": System for Organizing Content to Review and Teach Educational Subjects.

Among the bills which Missouri Governor Dalton signed, the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* lists: "Exclude from the need of paying a municipal incense fee all Christian Science practitioners, certified public accountants, dentists, chiropractors and chiropodists."

Mr. Richard Headlee, incoming president of the U.S. Junior Chamber of Commerce, described the plea of the Rev. Robert Castle, Jr. (chosen by the Jaycees as one of the outstanding young men of 1962), for the organization to take specific steps toward better racial relations, as "a source of embarrassment."

President Harry S. Truman declared a national emergency on Dec. 16, 1950. The official state of emergency has not been terminated.

St. Augustine, Fla. (AP) — A juvenile judge ordered six teenage Negro integration demonstrators taken from their parents after the parents refused to pledge they would stop the children from further violations. The youths, ages 14 to 16, were placed in juvenile quarters of the St. Johns County jail. A court official said if they cannot be placed in foster homes they probably will be sent to state schools for delinquents. The children were adjudged to be delinquent, a court official said, when their parents would not assure the court they would obey all laws — a condition of probation.

The president of Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, barred the American Nazi leader George Lincoln Rockwell, from addressing a group of students who had invited him to speak at a university residence. Dr. Roscoe Miller commented that he could "see no reason why a university should serve as a sounding board for a person like that." Rockwell did address 300 students at the University of Chicago. Dean of Students Warner Wick, called Rockwell's visit merely "symbolic," a reminder of citizens' right to hear those they wish to.

The AFL-CIO Executive Council refused to endorse the civil rights march on Washington held on August 28. George Meany, AFL-CIO president, described the council's stand on the march as a hands-off policy.

Mrs. Clare B. Williams, assistant GOP national chairman, charged President Kennedy with trying to subvert the legislative branch of government by downgrading its importance . . . One of the government's tricks, says Mrs. Williams, is the frequent mention of the United States as "the world's greatest democracy."

Banner headline in *The Mississippian*, student newspaper at the University of Mississippi: HIGH COURT BANS PRAYER. (The newspaper is not published anymore by Sidnor Brower, the widely-honored editor whose courageous editorials during the Meredith crisis won her a Pulitzer Prize nomination.)

CREDITS:

Drawings in this issue by Gary Adamson

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COOPERATING ORGANIZATIONS: In the arts, the following non-profit organizations are cooperating with FOCUS/Midwest but are not responsible for the editorial policy IN ST. LOUIS: Artist Guild, August Opera Festival, Civic Opera Association, Grand Opera Guild, Civic Music League, New Music Circle. IN KANSAS CITY: Art Institute, Conservatory of Music of the University of Kansas City, Circle Theatre, Lyric Opera, Playhouse, Resident Theatre. IN CHICAGO: To be announced.



Letters

Twins and FOCUS/Midwest

F M: It happened at the doctor's office while I waited for the X-ray prescription to confirm twins that I first saw FOCUS/Midwest. It was the most significant fact in the atmosphere of urgency. As I read I felt: "These are people I know."

Mrs. John Fink
Highland Park, Illinois

A Good Question

F M: I have some questions about your magazine. Do you think up every sentence?

Norvell Brasch (Age 7)
Denver, Colorado

(EDITOR'S NOTE: No, Norvell, I do not. But I am sure trying hard to find people who can think, who can put it in a sentence, and who are courageous enough to let us publish it.)

Out Of Focus

F M: We're as puzzled as you at the lack of reaction to Gall's piece ("Out of Focus," June 1963) — unusual in our experience with such articles. *New Republic* has limited influence, but it usually gets attention.

Christopher Jencks, Editor
The New Republic
Washington, D.C.

Off Base?

F M: You seem to think the forceful integration question is the first one. You are off base. Get your business from your kind. I don't believe in open housing, breaking neighborhood school districts, fat relief laws. The colored are not entitled to the demands they dream off (sic). They have yet to earn them. You may publish this.

Meyer Field
Chicago

Congratulations

F M: Thought I could get along without your excellent magazine, but when I read an article in the *Kansas City Star* recently which had been covered months ago in FOCUS/

Midwest, just know I had to stay with you. My husband says I don't need five newspapers and four news periodicals, but I do! And FOCUS/Midwest really hits the spot.

Mrs. Earle F. McDavid
Excelsior Springs, Missouri

F M: I'm comparatively new in Chicago (having returned after an 11 year absence) and it's heartwarming to see magazines such as FOCUS/Midwest.

C. Sumner Stone, Jr.
Editor-in-Chief
Chicago Daily Defender

F M: Congratulations on an excellent first year for FOCUS/Midwest. You are doing an excellent job. Best wishes for future years for your magazine.

Robert Reynolds, M.D.
St. Louis Department of
Health and Hospitals

F M: From the date of your first issue until I left Missouri in January 1963, I read each issue of your publication with delight and appreciation. As a state official (Director, Missouri Commission on Human Rights, Jefferson City), FOCUS/Midwest gave me a perspective of my state — and the whole Midwest which I could not have gained from reading the daily newspapers and weekly magazines of the entire area — even had time permitted. I really miss your publication. Please send me all issues.

Gregory E. Shinert, Director
Virginia Equal Job Opportunity
Bureau, Richmond, Virginia

"Brush Arbor Meetin's"

F M: The validity of an article by the late Mr. Herb Rice "Brush Arbor Meetin's In The Ozarks" has been challenged by Marjorie Webb of Kansas City. She wrote ("Letters," June 1963) that she never heard of this type of religious affair though she lived in a small Ozarks community near Springfield for many years. The fact that Mr. Rice chose to cover the religious situation in Gantryland in general terms should not be con-

strued that his view of the situation is not authentic.

I suggest that one need not go into the hills to experience religious "emotionalism and holy-rollerism," to quote Mr. Rice. One can get a belly-full within the city limits of Springfield — a community of about 100,000 population.

The sin fighters are always raisin' hell there, cheered on by the pulpit pounders who grow under every bush (and arbor) out in the land of vertical corn fields and rock harvests.

Only this past Labor Day week, the Springfield (Mo.) *Daily News* headlined: "Minister Says Dance in School Carries 'Connotations of Evil' — 'Amens Punctuate Preachment'." The body of the story carried such comments by local moral leaders as "The Bible teaches against the dance, making it plain from the scriptures that a dancer cannot be Christian and no Christian can be a dancer." Six hundred persons attended the meeting held in a public high school auditorium.

It is more than coincidence that this story came out on the eve of the great summer religious vaudeville season in Springfield. You can be sure that "dancing" will be one of the big themes of Springfield tent and fundamentalist church meetings at least until the pumpkin is hoary with frost.

Every community worth its salt has such a fringe population — however the thing that makes Springfield and the Ozarks unique is that the brush arbor mentality always has been — and probably always will be — the dominant theological force. The expression of this mentality is the revival.

Prior to 1950, the favorite site for big tent revivals was the old White City ball park on Bonnyville Avenue in north Springfield. Now, that area is the site of the Gospel Publishing House — operated by the Assemblies of God — one of the fastest growing fundamentalist organizations in the nation. Another favorite spot in the 1950s was an area east of Glenstone in the vicinity of St. Louis street on the eastern edge of the city — a

large discount house is there now.

I attended a tent revival at that spot in the summer of 1953. It was hot and one couldn't tell if folk were swooning from the heat or from ecstasy. I refer you to Mr. Rice's article if you want to know what else occurred there.

Many evangelists do use tents — however, any church or convention hall will do. In 1952, I attended a Jack Coe revival at the Shrine Mosque — a large hall three blocks from the main business district. The late evangelist did hold his meetin' — a week-long affair — in this hall instead of a tent, but everything else was there: speaking in unknown tongues, getting washed in the blood of the lamb, and the laying of hands. Nightly. There was plenty of music too. If you've never heard a hymn played at ragtime tempo — you "jest ain't lived." (Some of the best ragtime piano players in the world can be found on the revival circuit.)

Those are my most recent direct experiences with the brush arbor mentality. That was my revival period. I moved from this form of inexpensive entertainment into bird watching — a bit duller but certainly quieter.

George Alton
Certified, Native Hillbilly
St. Louis

"Last Chance for The Current River"

F. M: The recent article "Last Chance for the Current River" by Leonard Hall is well written and appealing but bears little relation to what is really at stake in the debate over the Current River. The real issue is whether we are to preserve this beautiful stream or destroy it by developing a recreation center for economic reasons. It boils down to preservation versus the almighty dollar.

First, what is it we seek to preserve? It is not a majestic natural wonder, a mighty waterfall, a mountainous vista, something that a tourist can gaze upon for a few moments and then move along. It is an experience that can only be enjoyed by living it for hours or days. It is a refuge from the frenzied pace of modern living — one of the few remaining spots in the whole Midwest where one can step into a boat and in a few minutes leave the twentieth century behind. It is the mist whispering above the dark green waters of the early morning — the sparkle of

shoals — the quiet pool beneath a limestone bluff — the exhilaration of churning chutes — the solitary camp at nightfall — the call of the whip-poor-will — a profusion of stars lighting the night with a brilliance that never pierces the city's smog and glare.

All this is worth preserving. It is worth preserving for the unique quality of recreation it affords. It is something which by its very nature does not lend itself to mass recreation. Solitude cannot be enjoyed en masse. Somewhere, for some people, there should be a place to be alone — a refuge from togetherness. As has been stated by the National Wildlife Federation, "Under optimum conditions our out-of-doors can only handle so many tourists without destroying the natural beauty, the clear streams that are left, and the scenic vistas. After too many people have stampeded an area, there is little left to see, or to hunt or fish for."

Now all this is very well, and you may say that no one would argue that this area should not be preserved. And this is largely true, but there are serious differences of opinion as to how we should go about the job of preservation. On the one side there are Len Hall and his followers who look upon preservation as a vehicle for improving the economy of the area through development of recreation with its attendant motels, roller rinks, hamburger stands, curio shops and all the tawdry roadside bric-a-brac that goes along with the American concept of recreation. They speak in glowing terms of 800,000 additional visitors annually and \$33,000,000 in additional tourist facilities. This group includes, of course, the owners of all such commercial establishments and is nominally led by Senators Symington and Long and Rep. Ichord who are open and avowed proponents of the economic development theory. This has created such an imposing array of political horsepower that the rest of the party has obediently fallen into line. After all, who is against National Parks? It is like being opposed to libraries, orphan homes and motherhood. But despite this formidable array of support, Congress has not jumped on the bandwagon and neither have a number of respected conservation organizations. Why?

Let's look at the other side of the argument. Who are the opponents and why haven't they grasped this proposal to their bosom? An attempt has been made to picture them as selfish obstructionists. This is unfair

and untrue. Most of the landowners would stand to make more money out of their land by selling it to the government than they would by holding on to it. As a matter of fact, the opponents are the people who know and love the streams — the floaters and those who live along them — the people who most want to see them preserved.

And what do they find wrong with the Park Service plans? First and foremost, they are opposed to the type of development contemplated under the plan. They know that these streams can only be preserved by limiting their use. The reason they are in need of help is that they are already reaching the stage of over-use.

Secondly, the opponents feel it is unjust, unnecessary and unduly expensive to purchase all land within 1 - 3 or 4 miles of the river banks. This will mean the displacement of many families that have owned their farms for generations and the removal from production of much of the best farm land in the area. It is remarkable how easy it is for some people to propose that the rights of others be subordinated to what is conceived to be the benefit of the majority. All too frequently such proposals are clothed in the banners of progress and liberalism. True liberalism should never sacrifice individual rights in the name of progress nor sanction their abrogation except in cases of great necessity. No such necessity exists in the case of the Current River. The river banks are, in general, lined with trees and bluffs so that one cannot see more than a few yards back from the stream. If the objective is preservation and it is impractical to take over the whole watershed, then there is no point in government acquisition of lands not even in sight of the stream, and the money so expended would be a waste of government funds.

One may well ask, "Well, what then is the alternative?" Surely it would be a mistake to do nothing, but there is a much more practical and inexpensive alternative. If the objective is to preserve something in its natural state, the way to do it is to assure that nothing will be done to it to change it. There is a recently developed legal device, the conservation easement or development restriction, which is admirably suited to this kind of job. It has been tried in California, Wisconsin and other places and found to be effective and much

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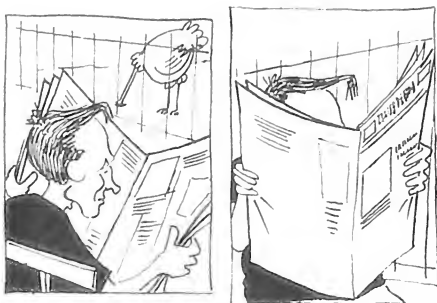
EDITORIALS

RECENT editorials by the *Chicago Daily News* and the *Chicago Sun-Times* have been disappointing. "This newspaper, of course," claims the *Sun-Times*, "approves of the fundamental cause of civil rights." And the *Daily News* insists, "Those who follow this page know that we have strongly supported equality of opportunity, assured by law in every instance where the law can fairly apply." Let us look at the specific policies of both papers.

The *Sun-Times* opposed the Washington march. It fundamentally misunderstood its purpose: "The marchers have been organized because the government they live under has something they desperately want and have never fully received, the privilege to be equal in all things with all other men." No one wants to be equal in *all* thing with *all* other men. We have met this straw-man before. Following the march, even the *Sun-Times* admitted that it was well planned and went off without incident. But not a word about the mood of dedication . . . in the eyes of the *Sun-Times* it was a revival-picnic atmosphere. Finally, they insult the organizers of the march by urging that, "The substantial citizens of the Negro community ought now take over."

The *Daily News* condemned the "fair housing" ordinance adopted by the Chicago City Council outlawing racial discrimination by real estate brokers in the sale or rental of housing. "We cannot approve a law that seeks to advantage one group by disadvantaging individuals in their exercise of their legitimate rights." Hogwash. Every law advantages one group at the expense of another. In this case it is simply property versus human rights. Without a blush they maintain the priority of property rights. (Of course, a routine, boring crack is made at Mayor Daley for "wanting to stay on the good side of the Negro voters." This gives little credit to other Americans.)

Supporters of the housing measure become "integration zealots" who believe that "nothing short of an *all-out campaign* to achieve equality by *force of law* will atone for the Negroes' years of suffering and degradation." (Our Italics) Does the *Daily News* have any alternative suggestion? Ironically, this "ham-handed, prejudicial law" is supposed to "open a door to worse, not better, race relations."



Does this sound very different from editorials in southern newspapers commenting on the 1954 school decision by the United States Supreme Court? We are convinced that southern editors were "sincere" and for "moderation." The Chicago papers are for civil liberties, human rights, equal opportunity — but not for the Washington march, for the priority of human over property rights, for any risk in furthering equality. Their approval of civil rights is rather moderate, we would say.

★

A new illustrated quarterly *Greek Heritage* is planned for publication in Chicago. Publisher Christopher G. Janus will offer "the great ideas of the writers, artists, and leaders of the Hellenic world, ancient and modern." Early announcements promise a luxurious and scholarly issue. Publication of such a journal bespeaks the cultural vitality of the Midwest. It reaches out beyond national confines. We wish it well.

★

THE Krannert Art Museum of the University of Illinois has set up a program of ten art exhibitions that will be shown in communities all over the state of Illinois. The exhibitions, each "packaged" in special crates and prepared for immediate display in Illinois school systems, colleges, clubs, libraries, museums, and art centers, represent outstanding talent in various fields of art. The traveling exhibits include a collection devoted to architecture and city planning, a group of oil paintings by contemporary American artists, children, a photography collection, a set of con-children, a photography collection, set of contemporary Japanese prints, a collection of Hogarth engravings, and others.

This is an excellent program. It offers residents in areas without permanent exhibition facilities the opportunity to see important works of art. The Midwest has many private art collections of great merit. Collectors may want to work together privately or with some public institution and set up a similar program giving art lovers the opportunity to view prized works.

★

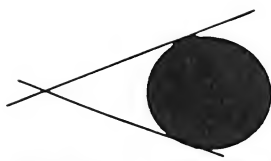
As everybody knows by now, the first fundraising effort by the new St. Louis Arts Council did not meet its stated goal. If some of the gifts promised but still outstanding materialize, the Council may raise \$600,000 of the needed \$731,000. Yet, this does not mean

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We are proud to announce that United States Senator Hubert H. Humphrey will become a regular contributor to FOCUS Midwest. His first, exclusive column will appear in the forthcoming issue. The Senator's eloquent record and pronouncements address themselves to real issues in clear and direct words. His writings will establish a link between Washington thinking and a leading group of Midwesterners, the readers of FOCUS/Midwest.





DATELINES

MARK M.
PERLBERG

CHICAGO



The other day on the La Salle Street bus I overheard three men engaged in a hyper-earnest conversation. One was a young man; the second an older grey-haired gentleman; the third a fairly well-known Chicago personality. What caught my attention was the theme of their conversation: the incursions of machines into our lives. I won't pretend I didn't try to eavesdrop behind my neatly folded copy of the *New York Times*.



"You know," said the reasonably well-known Chicago personality, doubtless forgetting for the moment that he was riding on a bus, "machines are anathema to me. They've hedged life in so — robbed it of so much of its quality. Why in Europe..."

"Yes," said the grey-haired older man, interrupting, "I quite agree. Machines lend a kind of, well a sort of fascist-like note to our existence, don't you think?"

"It's why I won't go to stereo," said the rather well known Chicago personality, offering a priceless *non-sequitur* in a loud voice over his shoulder. "I still prefer the old 78's." The men he had been conversing with shared a seat behind him. His reply to them left me, and I'm sure any other eavesdroppers on the bus, somewhat puzzled about the connection between fascism and double-track recordings. I inwardly winced and glanced up from a paragraph in a Sulzberger column, remembering all those 78's I fractured because of too casual handling. My past suddenly seemed to be littered with flakes of shellac and fragments of the old records.

"Take the automobile," said one of the trio. "The whole damn country is built around it." He gazed mournfully out the window. "Life is littered with automobiles," he offered epigrammatically. "Did you ever try to drive home on the Outer Drive in rush hour. My god, they get in your hair."

"Wouldn't have one," said the rather well known Chicago personality.

I missed the next part of the conversation, which I think was taken up with television and American movies, as I fruitlessly tried to imagine an automobile getting in somebody's hair. (A compact maybe?)

The young man in the polo shirt spoke next. "The whole quality of our civilization is quasi-mechanical," he said in a sweaty voice. (It was warm in the bus.) "The other day I was in New York and something beautiful happened! I was on Fifth Avenue in the 50's. A car comes around the corner and nearly knocks this Italian woman on her, er— nearly bowls her over."

At the mention of a real live Italian woman, the other two gentlemen put aside the threads of their own conversation that they seemed to be rehearsing in their minds, and listened to the young man's story.

"It was beautiful," he repeated. "There she was, nearly knocked flat by a car, and she didn't yell, she didn't scream, she didn't do anything verbal. She merely raised herself up on her toes and made a gesture with her arms."

I suppressed a great burp of laughter at the memory of gestures I had seen outraged Italian women make with their arms.

"Believe me, it was beautiful. There she stood, raised upon her toes, gesturing at that car that nearly knocked her down — so vital, so spontaneous. To me she was at that moment a ballet dancer."

A ballet dancer, yet. I rang the buzzer and got off the bus six blocks before my own stop.

S. K. OBERBECK

ST. LOUIS



St. Louis will be 200 years old in February. During bi-centennial observances, we will recall many of the city's proud, old traditions. But the proud, old tradition people will find their recall rather partial than proud when looking back at old St. Louis architecture. Because most of it has been bulldozed and battered into oblivion.

This does not refer to Mill Creek Valley — slums beyond saving that

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but to many fine structures in other had to come down sooner or later — older parts of the city razed, seemingly, without consideration for their esthetic or historical value to future generations of St. Louisans.

As Post-Dispatch art and architecture critic George McCue wrote recently, "We seem to have done a good job of sweeping our first century under the rug, and we have pathetically few meaningful relics of the early part of our second century."

He pointed out that while St. Louis can boast of five "remarkably imaginative new structures" (our Airport Terminal, Priory church, Climator, Planetarium, and rising Gateway Arch), few landmarks remain to demonstrate 200 years of architectural progress in this Gateway to the West.

Indeed, most of our new, modern building looks as if it was swept out the back-door of the East. Functional, perhaps, but undistinguished. Meanwhile, distinctive and historically valuable houses in neighborhoods north and south of the downtown area sink deeper and deeper into the disrepair that made saving any of Mill Creek Valley's Victorian relics almost impossible.

Looking back over our 200 years of progress, we will find a few worthy landmarks preserved, though: a cathedral, a monumental church, a court house, and a stately, old dwelling from our second century. And it is commendable that these individual landmarks were saved.

But what we will not find is an older *neighborhood* in excellent repair, a walking, breathing, bill-paying reminder of how we lived then, in the days of horse-cars and gas lamps and band concerts and Sunday strolls in parks under parasols. This expression of a neighborhood — an evocation that comes from many rather than a single preserved house — is to be found in Philadelphia's Society Hill section or Providence's Benefit Street. And without the long skirts and lace collars of the Williamsburg ladies.

For it is people who make of a house what, for lack of people, might be simply a "museum" — a little cold, a little quaint, a little distant. At risk of sounding soppy, I would go ahead and observe that a house becomes its most expressive only when inhabited by people, for which it was designed and built. For there is something missing from the re-stored house as a "museum," something like finding a child's shoe in a dark gangway, something like

the whirl of skate wheel in the close, summer night. Something like slats of light through a shutter-door or a girl watering flower pots on a cast-iron balcony.

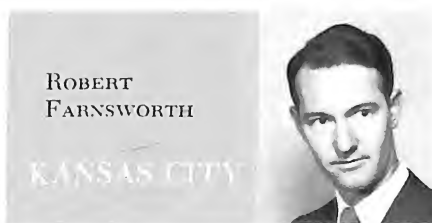
How we lived then . . . From now until February, I suspect, PR men and other publicists will stay up nights trying to manufacture, recall, reinvoke the spirit of how we lived then. But in most parts of the city, the history of this heritage is gone. One of the finest Squares in St. Louis, surrounding a spacious and once very fashionable park, is crumbling slowly as multiple family dwelling and absentee ownership chip away at the Greek Revival pilasters and old Victorian porticos.

Across the city, to the north, some of our only row-house architecture at North Market and Fourteenth streets likewise is a drab, broken ghost of what it was. And yet, St. Louis is now touting its downtown revitalization plan and development of the riverfront. Its riverfront monuments will be banked by belts of blight north and south.

Neighborhood rehabilitation campaigns and the city's minimum housing standards ordinance are not enough to keep the architectural heritage of old St. Louis from deteriorating. But pleas to preserve whole blocks in the old north and south sections can always be countered with reasonable arguments.

And the arguments save no part of the past we will be celebrating when February's festivities begin. Looking back in the area of architecture, we will have to squint or shut one eye, mentioning perhaps that the situation is not peculiar to this city only.

We will be proud, nevertheless, very proud. To a point.



Watching a mixture of dextrose and water slip down a tube through a needle and into my daughter's vein causes reflection.

It was to be a routine tonsillectomy on a five-year-old girl, but unknown to the surgeon a blood vessel was located at an unexpected place. The vessel was cut or ruptured immediate-

ly after the operation. The child bled seriously, but because she swallowed the blood rather than spitting it out the seriousness of the bleeding was undiscovered for hours.

Then a sudden vomiting of blood told the story and a rapid and desperate effort began to correct nature's error and man's unawareness of it. Back to the operating table to sew up the ruptured blood vessel. But the loss of blood and the second dose of anaesthesia send the child into shock.

Five doctors concentrate all their experience and skill on bringing her back. A vein is opened and blood pumped through the body. The child recovers from the shock and the operation is completed. But the sudden rush of blood pumped through the veins has caused the brain to swell.

The child survives the operation in a comatose condition. Her movements are spastic. Speech is impaired. Fever is high. And everyone sweats at the possibility that the brain has been permanently damaged.

A day later, sitting beside the bottle of dextrose and water dripping down the tube, I have been reassured by the doctors that the progress of the patient indicates that chances of permanent damage now seem slight. The relief is immense, but the agony is still close enough in time and the five-year-old girl's body and mind are still sufficiently battered and weary to stifle any but the most quiet and inward jubilation.

The possibility of a bright-eyed sensitive young girl who was eagerly anticipating her first day of school suddenly becoming locked in a dim obtuseness of mind and body, suggests the awe and terror of mortality. The enormously sophisticated technology everywhere evident in a modern hospital is inadequate insulation against the shock of the fundamental fact that man can die. In a moment all that man's mind can catch and savor can be obliterated as the mind itself fails and man becomes a lump of physical matter.

It was against this terror that all the resources of Menorah Medical Center (Kansas City) were brought into play. In this case they won a temporary but exceedingly gratifying victory.

My daughter's promise of recovery is of course by all odds the greatest prize of the struggle, but there is an aspect of lesser importance which also provides satisfaction. Prominent

(continued on page 18)



Irving
Dilliard

Charges Publishers With Suppressing News

Irving Dilliard has been a regular contributor to FOCUS/Midwest from the first issue. Less visible but just as important has been his help in structuring this magazine. Having recently been appointed Ferris professor of journalism and public relations at Princeton University, it will not be possible for him to keep up this monthly column although he will remain a frequent contributor. In recent years Dilliard has been lecturing, writing, and completing his study of United States Supreme Court Associate Justice Hugo L. Black, "One Man's Stand for Freedom: Mr. Justice Black and the Bill of Rights," published by Alfred A. Knopf this year. He is the former editorial page editor of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

JUST suppose that more than 400 professional economists from nearly 50 colleges and universities spread across the country had joined in a statement that the federal debt was now so great and the Kennedy Administration's fiscal policies were so dangerous that the United States Government had reached the very edge of economic disaster.

If such a statement had been issued, with hundreds of leading experts on economics supporting it with their signatures, everyone knows what would have happened. The newspapers would not only have put it on page 1. They would have called immediate attention to it with alarmist headlines. Here is the kind of headline treatment that would have appeared in newspaper after newspaper:

**NATION'S ECONOMISTS WARN
OF FINANCIAL DISASTER;
CONDEMN KENNEDY POLICIES**

Th very next day after these headlines had startled the country, editorials praising the economists would have appeared in these same newspapers. Nearly all would have applauded the economic experts who joined in warning the country that it must turn back from the brink of collapse while there was still time.

Now if a group of economists had circulated a statement saying just the opposite you would think that it would be news, too. For the fact is that a statement, just the opposite of the supposed one above, was drawn up, circulated, and printed in the *Congressional Record*. But it wasn't news at all in most newspapers. Apparently only a few — a precious few ever heard of the statement.

Since it still is news, readers of *FOCUS/Midwest* may like to look it up for themselves. They will find it on pages A4449-A4450 of the *Congressional Record* for July 16. It was inserted by Democratic Representative Frank Thompson Jr. of New Jersey who thought it was news even though the news editors of the country saw nothing newsworthy in it.

The signers included economists not only from Midwestern colleges and universities such as Chicago, Illinois, and Wisconsin; but from leading institutions on the east and west coasts — Princeton, Yale, Harvard, Amherst, Stanford, California, and Washington. In all, 42 colleges and universities were represented by 414 economists.

This is a sample of what they agreed on:

"We affirm with complete confidence that there is nothing to fear from the present size of the federal debt. Nor is there anything to fear from the moderate increase in the debt that will result from the deficits envisaged in the next few years. Indeed, measured as a fraction of the Gross National Product, the federal debt is today much smaller relatively than it was 15 years ago. And interest payments on the debt absorb a significantly smaller fraction of the national income than they did at the end of World War II."

What about a tax cut and possible inflation when the debt is so large?

The economists dealt with that, too. Here is what they said:

"We should like to assure the American people that a federal deficit of the magnitude proposed, given the extent to which capital and labor are not now being fully utilized, carries no danger of accelerated inflation. Nor does such a deficit in any manner or degree threaten the solvency of the federal Government. This country's outstanding record of economic growth during the last century and a half or more has been associated with increases in debt representing mobilization of the people's savings by business and government."

From this the 414 economists came to the conclusion that the Kennedy tax reduction program was both sound and desirable to "provide a significant stimulus to consumer spending" and "a beneficial effect on private investment." And they underscored the role that "fiscal policy can and should play in maintaining and expanding the level of economic activity."

Why was this not news when the opposite would have been big news calling for editorial endorsement? Given the economic, fiscal, and political outlook of newspapers generally the individual reader's explanation is better than that of most publishers.

SIGNERS AT MIDWESTERN UNIVERSITIES

University of Chicago

B. M. Fleisher, Harry G. Johnson, Dale W. Jorgenson, Arnold Harberger, Marshall D. Ketchum, Lloyd A. Metzler, Merton H. Miller, Albert Rees, T. W. Schultz.

University of Illinois

V. Lewis Bassie, Ruth A. Birdzell, John D. Bowman, Sanford Cohen, Milton Derber, John F. Due, Robert Ferber, Marvin Frankel, Donald W. Paden.

Indiana University

Robert W. Campbell, Troy J. Conley, Irvin Grossack, Taulman A. Miller, Henry M. Oliver, Lloyd D. Orr, Ross M. Robertson, Nicolas Spulber, Ted Witney, E. R. Wicker.

University of Iowa

Raymond R. Beruke, Eugene A. Brady, Harold W. Dewey, Hirschel Harper, Earl O. Heady, Bob R. Holden, Sydney James, Lee Kolmer, Francis A. Kutish, Stanley S. Long, Dudley G. Luckett, Charles Meyer, John W. Rowe, Jr., J. T. Scott, Erik Thorbreke, Karl A. Totz, John F. Trueman, Don Winkelmann.

Michigan State University

Abba P. Lerner.

University of Minnesota

John Buttick, E. Coen, Edward Foster, Lowell Gallany, Ralph H. Hofmeister, Leonid Hurwicz, A. O. Krueger, Jim Schwinden, Harlan M. Smith, John G. Trumbull.

University of Wisconsin

Benjamin Bridges Jr., Martin H. Daid, James S. Earley, Arthur S. Goldberg, Edward Greenbey, Farsham Hall, Kathleen Haygood, Edward B. Jakubauskas, David B. Johnson, John Korbel, Roger F. Miller, Guy H. Orcutt, Robert Ozanne, Gerald G. Somers, James Stern, G. E. Swingay, William Russell, Hans O. Schmitt, Ernst W. Stromsdorfer, Leonard W. Weiss.

CAN WE RISK FREE SPEECH ?

Alexander
Polikoff

*So long as people are speaking
and not acting, our urge should be
to permit and protect that speech*

IT was six o'clock on March 22, 1962 — a cool, touch-of-spring Thursday evening in Chicago. Emblazoned brightly on the marquee of the State-Lake Theater on crowded State Street were the names of the feature movie, "Sergeants Three," and the star, Sammy Davis, Jr. A 1952 Cadillac pulled up in front of the theater and five men disembarked, four of them in uniforms of white shirts, black ties, black trousers, black shoes, and arm bands. Three of the five carried signs and began to walk slowly and silently in a circle on the sidewalk in front of the theater, while the fourth handed out leaflets to passers-by. The fifth, wearing no uniform, disappeared in the gathering crowd.

Before long about 100 people and several policemen had assembled. Though witnesses later described the five men as "courteous and gentlemanly," the growing crowd began to mutter. Profane language and "Go back to Germany" and "Go back to Russia" could be heard. Around the

corner on Lake Street a smaller group gathered, apparently intent upon violence against the pickets. A policeman hurriedly consulted with them, then walked briskly to the marquee area and whispered to the police sergeant in charge. The sergeant promptly ordered the pickets to disperse but they refused and continued their silent, circular marching. At a signal a patrol wagon drove up and the sergeant announced that the pickets were under arrest. Quickly and efficiently each was hustled into the wagon together with their non-uniformed colleague. Somehow the signs were dropped and the onlookers closed in angrily and began to stomp on them. But an order from the police stopped the destruction and the signs, only slightly damaged, were retrieved and placed in the wagon. The cruiser pulled away. It was only about half an hour after the moment of the Cadillac's arrival.

The signs the men had carried all bore the legend "White Youth Corps" and read:

"Sammy Davis Jewnior is a race mixer."

"Fight race mixing, do not see Sergeants Three."

"How to be a Jew, Lesson Number one by Sammy, the Kosher Coon."

The leaflets included phrases such as "kike — nigger" and "Niggers! You too can be a Jew."

A few months later three of the five "Youth Corps" members were tried and convicted of disorderly conduct and criminal defamation. (The other two were juveniles and were committed to a state juvenile institution.) Two of the three were fined \$1200 each and sentenced to one year in jail, and the third was fined \$500 and sentenced to four months.

THE State-Lake Theater affair was not the only incident. George Lincoln Rockwell's American Nazi Party, with whom the White Youth Corps group is associated, recently picketed — with similarly provocative signs — at



the showing of a Soviet travel film in Chicago's Sherman Hotel, at a meeting of a Jewish culture group in Chicago, at the showing of the movie "Operation Eichman," and at other public events. In January of this year a major Chicago radio station turned its microphone over to the local head of Rockwell's Party. "Captain" Matt Koehl discoursed on the "philosophy" of the American Nazi group, which included adherence to Hitler as a spiritual and philosophic leader, and the assertions that communism is a Jewish conspiracy, that Negroes should be separated from whites, and that the Nazis will take over the United States. Rockwell himself was recently invited by student groups to speak on the campuses of the University of Chicago and Northwestern University. Though his appearance was banned at Northwestern, Rockwell did speak on the University of Chicago campus, with no less than 65 policemen on hand, and with some disorder and two arrests (this time of onlookers).

Rockwell's activities are not confined to the midwestern United States. He and his adherents have spoken and picketed throughout the country, and in England mass meetings conducted by Rockwell's English counterparts, Oswald Mosley and Colin Jordan, have provoked such disorder as to give rise to the "Yellow Star Movement," designed to obtain a million signatures on a petition to Parliament to make public incitement to racial hatred a criminal offense.

How should Rockwell and his group be handled?

The chief targets of the American Nazis are the Jew or the Negro or both, depending upon where the attack is delivered. (It was an unusually happy coincidence from the Nazi point of view to find the dual objects of the group's venom merged in Sammy Davis.) Crowds react predictably to the inflammatory Rockwell "message" and disturbances result unless the police step in. It is possible to prevent the disorder Rockwell provokes in one of two ways. The first is to keep the crowd under control and to disperse it if necessary. The second is to remove the Nazis from the scene, usually by arrest. It is obvious which of the two methods is the easiest. The difficult question is whether the method of arrest of the Nazis for conduct like that involved in the State-Lake incident is lawful.

Picketing and public speaking are rights guaranteed to every American citizen by the First Amendment to the Federal Constitution. They are rights accorded to unpopular speakers as well as to popular ones, and it is a truism that if the right to speak freely is eroded today in the repression of an abhorrent view, it may as easily be eroded tomorrow in the repression of a view held dear.

But dedicated civil libertarians have not found it difficult to square the arrest of the Nazis in circumstances like those involved in the State-Lake incident with adherence to these First Amendment principles. They point out that freedom of speech is designed to promote orderly discussion of public affairs and they argue that it is no proper part of such discussion to parade signs like those carried in front of the State-Lake Theater. They argue that the mere use of words, written or spoken, does not of itself guarantee that one is within the area protected by the First Amendment. So-called "fighting words" and incitement to riot are not protected forms of speech, and an indecent proposal to a woman is recognized as a form of assault, punishable as a crime. Even reasoned advocacy has been held not to be protected under the First Amendment if it creates a clear and present danger of giving rise to an evil which the government has a right to legislate against directly. And these arguments have special force when the offensive language is let loose not in a private place or rented hall but on the public streets, for on the streets the audience is "captive" and likely to be hostile, and therefore the danger of disorder is greater than it would be in a hall to which only those who wanted to hear the speaker would have come.

Finally, the Nazi arrests are defended by reference to the case of

The primary duty of the police in a democratic society must be to protect a speaker in the exercise of his right to speak, not to sacrifice that right on the altar of public order whenever an audience gets angry and threatens violence.

Joseph Beauharnais, a Chicago leather goods merchant, who in the late 1940's took upon himself the task of protecting the white race from what he called "mongrelization." Beauharnais circulated pamphlets which, in the unchanging and unimaginative jargon of the race-baiting profession, spoke colorfully of the rapes and robberies, guns and marihuana, of the Chicago Negro. Following his conviction under a little used law known as the Illinois Group Libel Act, which makes it a crime to portray as depraved, criminal, or unchaste a class of citizens of any race, color, creed, or religion, the Beauharnais case reached the United States Supreme Court. There the Illinois law was upheld as constitutional under the First Amendment, and the decision stands as a precedent frequently applicable, in principle at least, to the placards, leaflets, and speeches of the American Nazis.

Perhaps the most eloquent statement of why repression of the Nazis should not be viewed as violating First Amendment guarantees was written by the late Supreme Court Justice Robert Jackson in a case involving the right of a Baptist minister, Carl Jacob Kunz, to conduct street meetings in New York City in which Kunz made it a practice to attack Catholics and Jews in the time-tested inflammatory way (the Pope was "the anti-Christ" and the Jews should all "have been burnt in the incinerators" and were "Christ-killers"). Justice Jackson said:

"The question, therefore, is not whether New York could, if it tried, silence Kunz, but whether it must place its streets at his service to hurl insults at the passerby. . . . These terse epithets come down to our generation weighted with hatreds accumulated through centuries of bloodshed. They are recognized words of art in the profession of defamation. They are not the kind of insult that men bandy and laugh off when the spirits are high and the flagons are low. They are not in that class of epithets whose literal sting will be drawn if the speaker smiles when he uses them. They are always, and in every context, insults which do not spring from reason and can be answered by none. Their historical associations with violence are well understood, both by those who hurl and those who are struck by these missiles. Jews, many of

whose families perished in extermination furnaces of Dachau and Auschwitz, are more than tolerant if they pass off lightly the suggestion that unbelievers in Christ should all have been burned. Of course, people might pass this speaker by as a mental case, and so they might file out of a theater in good order at the cry of 'fire.' But in both cases there is genuine likelihood that someone will get hurt."

BUT the other side of the argument has its adherents, even among those very Jews and Negroes who are the objects of the Nazi epithets. (A few years ago, when a Nazi was tried in Washington, D. C. for creating a public disorder by the distribution of handbills which urged that Jews be gassed, he was defended by two Jewish lawyers representing the American Civil Liberties Union.) Though the right to speak may not be absolute, the right clearly does not end where hostile reception begins.

The primary duty of the police in a democratic society must be to protect a speaker in the exercise of his right to speak, not to sacrifice that right on the altar of public order whenever an audience gets angry and threatens violence. If threatened disorder were a sufficient reason to justify the police in interrupting speakers and stopping pickets, the First Amendment's guarantees would be the airiest gossamer. Threatened disorder should justify police in stopping a speaker only when they cannot reasonably cope with the disorder. And there is no good reason why these principles should not apply to speaking on the public streets as well as in rented quarters. Historically, the streets have served as speakers' platforms in America and audiences can be reached there which can be reached nowhere else. The duty of an American not to interfere with another's right of free speech is not abrogated because the speech is delivered on the street. (In the State-Lake incident police reinforcements were never called for and there was no showing that the police even attempted to disperse the crowd or that their forces were inadequate for that job.)

Nor is the offensiveness of the language used a safe guide in free speech cases. The quality of "offensiveness" is relative. Should the sensibilities of every racial, religious, and ethnic group determine what

Picketing and public speaking are rights . . . accorded to unpopular speakers as well as to popular ones, and it is a truism that if the right to speak freely is eroded today in the repression of an abhorrent view, it may as easily be eroded tomorrow in the repression of a view held dear.

words may be spoken in public? And if the use of epithets like "kike" and "coon" were sufficient to justify the repression of speech, who believes for a moment that imaginative replacement epithets would not take their place and in turn be prohibited, and that the list of forbidden words would not expand rapidly until the very practice itself of prohibiting the use of certain words in public speech became ridiculous?

Fastening upon the offensive nature of the idea communicated by the speaker is to walk even thinner ice. Certainly to tell a concentration camp refugee on an American street that Jews should be gassed is to run the risk of provoking violent reaction. But if that risk alone justified the suppression of the statement, the same principle would have to justify the suppression of the statement made on a Southern sidewalk that Negroes should be fully and promptly integrated into every walk of Southern life, which is of course to prove too much.

Nor is the *Beauharnais* case a solid perch to rest on for those concerned with civil liberties. Civil liberties groups strongly opposed the decision when it was rendered and do so now, and the Supreme Court itself was sharply divided (5-4). In expressing his opposition to the majority opinion Justice Douglas said with customary directness:

"Today a white man stands convicted for protesting in unseemly language against our decisions invalidating restrictive covenants. Tomorrow a Negro will be hailed before a court for denouncing lynch law in heated terms. . . . Intemperate speech is a distinctive characteristic of man. Hot-heads blow off and re-

lease destructive energy in the process. They shout and rave, exaggerating weaknesses, magnifying error, viewing with alarm. So it has been from the beginning; and so it will be throughout time. The Framers of the Constitution knew human nature as well as we do. They too had lived in dangerous days; they too knew the suffocating influence of orthodoxy and standardized thought. They weighed the compulsions for restrained speech and thought against the abuses of liberty. They chose liberty. That should be our choice today no matter how distasteful to us the pamphlet of *Beauharnais* may be."

And Justice Black closed his ringing dissent by remarking that if minority groups hailed the *Beauharnais* decision as a victory they should consider well *Pyrrhus'* response to his friends, congratulating him upon his victory over the Romans, but with great slaughter on his own side. "Yes; but if we have such another victory, we are undone."

The First Amendment protects speech; it says nothing about action. The borderline between the two may sometimes be fuzzy. And the line itself may have been bent here and there by an errant judicial decision. But the line between speech and action remains the only safe criterion in applying the First Amendment. The power of government is soon enough marshaled against people who begin to act in criminal ways. So long as people are speaking and not acting, our urge should be to permit and protect that speech, not to prohibit or restrict it. Distasteful and offensive and even dangerous though the speech may be, it is still only speech. If our democratic society is founded upon one principle above all others it is that all speech — even that which communicates abhorrent or dangerous ideas — must be protected.

Alexander Polikoff is a Chicago attorney. He is on the board of directors of the Illinois Division of the American Civil Liberties Committee and chairman of its Police and Criminal Law Committee.

Ed Sachs

ex-ex-ex-Disk Jockey Dan Sorkin

In a way, the story of Dan Sorkin is an American success story.

Here is a young man who is one of the best known personalities in the country in his field; he is well paid; his vacations are spent in Europe; he is able to enjoy certain material luxuries unknown to Willy Lohman; he knows many of the famous on a first name basis; and his activities are often considered worthy of mention by the national and local press.

If Sorkin were a race horse, the boys in flashy suits and expensive shoes would tell you to bet on him.

But there is more to Sorkin. He has been fired by employers for not following company policy; some charge he is a "dangerous Communist;" and when one considers Sorkin's interests, friends, and general outlook on society, no personnel man worthy of a psychological test would recommend him for an executive position.

If Sorkin were a Greek philosopher, the gods would tell you to shun him . . . he is a certain candidate for the hemlock.

The trouble with Sorkin is the trouble with radio and, to a lesser degree, all other media which have surrendered their dignity to the advertising dollar.

Sorkin is a disc jockey. To compound the felony, Sorkin is an early morning disc jockey. His show starts at 6:15 and lasts through 9:30, Mondays through Fridays. The disc jockey in the morning is an unlikely source of humor and social commentary. He is usually a human alarm clock, full of weather information and Rover Boy good humor. Sorkin is different. His humor is constant and his is one of the few voices on Chicago radio raised in protest at social and political inequities. These are the characteristics which have made Sorkin popular with many listeners, a target of reactionary right-wingers and, despite his success, something

less than a constant joy to Station WCFL, the source of his broadcasts.

Newsweek described a Sorkin show this way: "Sorkin spins jazz records, fires off jokes calculated to antagonize conservatives, gets off risqué ad-libs, reads fallacious weather bulletins, describes traffic conditions in West Berlin, makes fun of commercials, and insults pretty girls. All this raillery gets results. Sorkin's 'Morning Show' is a smash hit."

He has read an invented testimonial from the operator of a call girl service whose phone has been removed. He helped promote a fictional character named Rose Bimler who is in danger because of her participation in liberal protest actions. As a result there are now over 70 "Save Rose Bimler" clubs across the country and thousands of "Save Rose Bimler" buttons have been distributed in response to a flood of requests unequalled in recent Chicago radio promotions.

Sorkin has identified certain owners of Chicago nightclubs and hotels as affiliates of the Syndicate. He makes a point of tossing barbs at baseball, William Buckley, movie stars, Senator Goldwater, former vice president Richard Nixon, and other American institutions.

Sorkin calls the White House to make sure someone is watching the governmental store . . . he'll play a recorded commercial for a motion picture and then tell how bad the movie is . . . and when his guest is a motion picture star or beauty queen whose only accomplishments are that she can squeeze her size 40 breasts into a size 12 dress, Sorkin can lead her into an interview which discloses more about the woman than a *Playboy* camera.

It usually goes something like this:

STAR: I just love being in Chicago.

SORKIN: Why?

STAR: I just love it . . . all the beautiful cultural things you have here . . . like the Art Institute.

SORKIN: Did you go to the Art Institute?

STAR: Oh yes, I loved the pictures.

SORKIN: Which ones?

STAR: (After a pause) . . . Well, I loved all of them.

SORKIN: Name a few.

STAR: (Longer pause) . . . Well, let's see . . .

Sorkin plays a record and frequently when it is over the star has left and Sorkin can go on to more important things.

DESPITE his success, Sorkin can be a throbbing pain to WCFL time salesmen who do not seem to know that it is Sorkin's less than humble view toward the commercials on his program that causes some advertisers to ask for time on the Morning Show.

WCFL seems to accept these tributes without belief. Recently an advertising agency executive was asked to request information from WCFL about Sorkin for a "really big account." Three days later no representative of the station had contacted the agency, one of the largest in the country.

The station management seems to prefer to brood about such incidents as Sorkin reading a commercial for an automobile manufacturer and adding that the cars were big but they were made by very little people.

Shortly afterwards, he received this memo from Thomas E. Haviland, station manager: "Dan — The agency executive for a large automobile manufacturer called and said it would be appreciated if you did not make any more references to the size of the president of this firm. The man is rather short and is quite sensitive about his height."

Sorkin has been fired many times. Chicago's WIND fired him for laughing during news broadcasts. Another Chicago station, WJJD, and Dan parted company after he read children instructions on how to open the cages at the zoo.



Dan Sorkin was fired by WCFL soon after this story was written. The specific argument between Sorkin and the station which lead to his dismissal was the station's demand that it be allowed to censor records he had scheduled to be heard over his program. According to Sorkin some of these records had been played for six years. At this writing, Sorkin is appearing on television in an all night show seen on Chicago's WBKB-TV and is in the process of negotiating a new radio outlet.

His present employers have fired Sorkin several times and a Sorkin firing has a certain ritual to it, a certain time table, a certain tradition which is rapidly becoming an art form of its own.

It starts when Dan says something the management thinks is dangerous to the station and, apparently, WCFL feels anything stronger than the kind of prose one finds on the outside of a cereal box carries deadly implications. A conference is called. Words are exchanged. Sorkin is fired. He makes a curtain speech and goes whistling to his studio to remove all his records from the shelves.

Sorkin is a mild man but he has been known to tell radio station executives in strong language unique ways to dispose of his job.

WCFL management then faces reality. Sorkin has a large group of steady listeners, and because he is on early many who listen to Sorkin keep the radio tuned to that station the rest of the day. Sorkin is good. Sorkin is then re-hired.

Surprising to many Chicagoans is that the station which tries so hard to censor Sorkin is the property of the Chicago Federation of Labor and Industrial Union Council AFL-CIO. Many think this means the station would have more liberal inclinations than, say, a station run by the son-in-law of a rich man.

From its record, however, WCFL is about as powerful a voice of liberal views as Little Orphan Annie. To be fair, it should be noted that the station has never forgotten Labor Day and usually tells its audience that it is coming for several weeks before the great event. The station manages to bury an excellent program from the United Auto Workers at somewhere near 5:00 a.m. each day, and on the whole its most socially conscious action seems to be to mention Negro baseball players as often as whites during the baseball broadcasts. WCFL seems to be in the control of the

Bourbons of Labor, the leaders of the old AFL trade unions.

WHEN Sorkin spoke out for Lennie Bruce the reactions at City Hall were immediate, as they are when Sorkin jibes the State for not giving birth control devices to women on relief or when he tangles with the powerful columnists of Chicago's newspapers.

Bruce was a special target and Sorkin fought for him when the comedian appeared in a Chicago nightclub using his usual strong language to express his views on many parts of the contemporary Chicago scene. The anti-Bruce forces went to work with the same vigor their grandfathers had used to create the same type of climate which prompted James Joyce, Sean O'Casey, and other gifted writers to leave Ireland.

Sorkin was listed as a character witness for Bruce, along with Nelson Algren and others considered radical by the deep thinkers in radio station management, and the disc jockey withstood some very strong pressure to withdraw. He came out of it alive because he kept pointing out, "What was good for the likes of Nelson Algren and all them professors was good enough for the likes of him."

Still, one of these days, Sorkin won't take back his job. He is an accomplished pilot and loves flying, especially because it takes him far from station managers, press agents, and great Hollywood beauties. Also Sorkin's value has been noted by radio and television executives in other cities. Still as of this writing, Sorkin seems to get a great deal of pleasure out of his fights within and without WCFL.

SORKIN's fights highlight how bad the situation is in AM radio today.

To cite a few reasons:

1. Stations today are run for the most part by people who think of themselves as providing an outlet for advertising. That this is a posture in conflict with Federal Communications Commission attitudes is one of those bitter, private jokes few of the talented people still in radio can laugh about. Perhaps no other medium has so surrendered to advertising as daytime radio with only a Frank Sinatra record and a news broadcast keeping the average programming from being no more than a series of commercials.

2. In advertising and radio nothing is really funny. You can't make fun of a sponsor. Sometimes it seems that the radio stations will accept the commercials of any advertiser not convicted of selling secrets of state or the services of a lady of the evening. Public service programs, as required by the FCC, are shunted to such lively times as Sunday morning or in the evenings when most people who have nothing better to do are listening to television, not radio.

3. Sorkin is a frightening example of what happens when a man stands up for his principles. He has fought those elements of the press and clergy, the professional mothers, and the perpetual veterans who have appointed themselves keepers of the morals of the city of Chicago. These walking chastity belts keep up a continual campaign to save people from the evils of such writers as D. H. Lawrence, Henry Miller, William Burroughs, Howard Fast, and Alexander Trocchi.

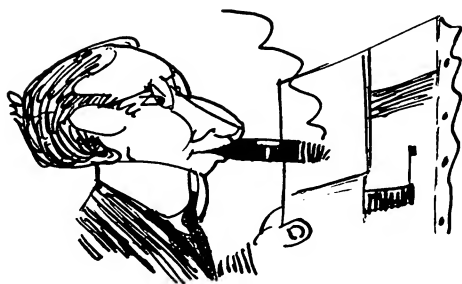
But pressures mount, and Sorkin will always be his own man. One of these days, the memo he gets from management will be too destructive and he'll get into his airplane and fly off to become better paid and able to work in a more mature climate.

We'll mourn our loss if he does.

In a city of mice who broadcast, we'll miss the man.

THE MANAGEMENT OF ART

ROBERT
AHRENS



Reviewing a survey of art in St. Louis, the author endorses with reservations the concept of an arts council but recommends: "... open agendas openly arrived at and openly reported on."

The letter transmitting the Booz, Allen and Hamilton arts survey of greater St. Louis to Robert Brookings Smith, Chairman of the Survey Committee, states: "It is concluded that there is no greater need in St. Louis than for a broader base of effective and coordinated community support for the arts in a context that both (1) secures the general blessing of the social and business groups that tend to determine the sources both of public approval and of funds and (2) generates and takes full advantage of new inspirations and enthusiasms from many other groups and individuals."

Some 323 survey pages and a clutch of separate statistics later this remains the most important conclusion that the survey has reached. It is important because it is universal and has meaning not only for St. Louis, but for any community largely run by a limited and identifiable establishment. This must include every American city except New York, which alone is operated by a multiplicity of power structures, each capable of independent accomplishment and together generating the diversity, opportunity, and excitement in which all things seem—and often are—possible.

Identifying the above as the most important conclusion is not to downgrade the remainder of the survey and its various particulars on how St. Louis might effectively act to achieve a desirable acceleration of cultural progress.

There is much of merit in the report, not the least of which is the relative absence of what someone recently described as the flatulent

prose of most management survey reports. This report is, with some notable exceptions, quite clear in its conclusions and is written for the most part in simple, readable prose.

The survey was apparently begun with one conclusion firmly in mind: there ought to be some kind of an arts council in St. Louis. The idea of an arts council is not something that the cultural survey found permeating St. Louis opinion, but is rather an hypothesis that the survey sought to prove out. This is also true of the idea of a cultural center.

Naturally enough the survey concludes that there ought to be an arts council in St. Louis (and there now is an arts council in St. Louis), and traditionally enough the survey concludes that there ought to be a cultural center located in downtown St. Louis. (I have no information on the status of this project.)

At one point the survey notes with what must be self-approval that an arts council had been formed almost as soon as the survey said to do so, which should have been no surprise if the assumption is correct that the desire for an arts council brought the survey on in the first place.

There can be little doubt that the concept of an arts council has been oversold in this country as a kind of automatic solution to a community's cultural problems. The possibilities have been exaggerated and the limitations too often ignored. Yet there is no reason to think that an arts council cannot be useful to any community that realistically assesses its role and potential and conditions its expectations accordingly. What annoys one

on this subject is inflated prose. An example is the following from the survey: "Arts councils which conduct fund raising campaigns tend to be the more exciting councils and have a greater impact on furthering the development of the arts." It is easy to see why a council with money will have a greater impact than one without it, but what in the world is meant by "tend to be the more exciting councils?"

In what Booz, Allen and Hamilton call "a major conclusion" on the cultural life of Greater St. Louis, the report states that cultural "activities tend to be disparate and unrelated . . . conflicting in many respects, including in their impact on potential sources of human and financial resources." On the same page with this statement another is made that similar "opportunities exist for more effective organization of community interests in the field of educational organizations, just as in the case of arts organizations."

Then, in what seems a total failure of logic Booz, Allen and Hamilton ask St. Louis to form *two* councils, one for arts and another for education. "The primary purposes of these two organizations should parallel one another," says the report and, indeed, the two councils are told to create one joint fund-raising arm, but are asked to go their separate ways on other matters. On one page the report speaks of parallel primary purposes of the two councils and on the next of "these two quite different councils" whose "interests and objectives would vary." This unfortunate and often contradictory part of the report can

only be regarded as fallacious in its conclusions. Why two councils with parallel primary purposes should be formed to go their separate ways, while "a major conclusion" of the report calls for St. Louis to correct a situation in which its cultural "activities tend to be disparate and unrelated . . . conflicting in many respects . . ." is difficult to understand. One wonders what are the real reasons for wanting two councils.

Here are the words of the report:

"If the many community organizations, which are to meet together for constructive purposes, are to be able to carry out a useful 'conversation' among themselves and to feel a common sense of purpose and an appropriate degree of empathy and rapport, it is important that two councils be formed rather than only one. This is true because in the case of a single council, interests and objectives would vary and programs would differ far too much to permit useful focus either (1) on the problems of promoting the cultural level of the community in the sense that is intended when this word is used to embrace the performing, visual and creative arts or (2) on the community's educational interests."

Can one read this and not conclude from it that in St. Louis the people in the arts and the people in education aren't able to talk to one another? This is difficult to believe, but if the conclusion is accepted it would seem all the more important not to separate these groups further but to bring them closer together so they do learn how "to carry out a useful 'conversation' among them-



selves." If the arts and education can't talk and work together, God knows how — let alone what — they expect to communicate to the rest of the community.

It is also hard to understand how the "cultural level of the community" is not a "community's educational interest" no matter in what sense you use this word. (I assume "cultural" is the word in question in the above quotation.)

If St. Louis has already moved to form two councils instead of one it has begun its move for cultural progress with a mistake. It would be interesting to hear from spokesmen for both St. Louis and Washington Universities on this matter.

The two-council concept and the confused reasoning behind it tend to negate what is one of the most attractive proposals in the report. It is suggested that as part of the structure of a St. Louis council there would be cultural activity panels, interdisciplinary panels, and geographic panels, inclusive of all of the educational and cultural forces at work in Greater St. Louis. Problem-oriented panels, formed as appropriate, should also be considered. Their task would be expression of ideas, program development in their specialized field, and the establishment of a setting for research, planning, and cooperative action.

This moves admirably in the right direction. It would be only one step further to look at the urban area as a university in itself and to propose, not a limited arts council with the exclusivity this suggests (and is evidently meant to suggest), but a community educational and cultural council inclusive of every aspect of that life, meaning not only the arts but the sciences, not only education but public affairs. The many panels under such a council would represent for the city somewhat the equivalent of the departments of a university.

This writer had the impression, incorrect as it turned out, that the survey included a tabulation of past giving habits of St. Louis corporations to the city's cultural projects. This would have been instructive. In any event, St. Louis business firms and corporations and other citizens will be encouraged to contribute annually to a fund drive to be conducted by the joint fund raising arm of the two separate councils for the arts and education. The report notes that the combined drive will save money in the long run by elimination of overlap, duplication, conflict, and inefficiency;

thus supplying an economic as well as cultural motivation for giving. It is easy to believe that the concept of a Community Cultural Fund or Chest will be successful and that the business man who won't buy art may instead buy less bother.

It is not as easy to forecast the future of a proposed fund campaign for a downtown St. Louis cultural center because of the millions of dollars involved and the tax and real estate implications that always complicate such ventures. The question of the cultural center the survey proposes is not discussed in this article since the report demonstrates quite conclusively the need for new, improved, and enlarged cultural facilities of various kinds in St. Louis, and recommends that a cultural center be under the administration of an independent and separate board from the council, concerned only with the management of facilities and not with artistic production.

Will the arts council concept work out in St. Louis? Despite misgivings about the survey recommendation of two separate councils rather than one more powerful and inclusive group, the council concept is probably a correct one for St. Louis, largely because it seems to have met at least part of the criteria that Booz, Allen and Hamilton proposed: "the general blessing of the social and business groups that tend to determine the sources both of public approval and of funds" in St. Louis. At least that is a Chicagoan's understanding of the status of Civic Progress, Inc. of St. Louis, the group that commissioned the survey and has helped to launch the arts council.

It then remains to be seen how well the arts council and its sponsors meet the rest of the Booz, Allen and Hamilton criteria and "generate and take full advantage of new inspirations and enthusiasms from many other groups and individuals." The establishment of the many and varied cultural panels is an important move in this direction. The question cannot be fully answered, however, until the day when some unknown member of one of the panels has an inspiration that runs counter to a prejudice frozen deep into some unknown member of the power structure. Who and what is likely to win out when this happens: the new idea or the old prejudice, action or the status quo, cultural progress or group loyalty?

The trouble with arts councils and cultural committees, is that you may never know either who wins out, what

the fight was all about, or even that one took place! The unpublicized answers of the past to these unpublicized questions, when raised in our mid-west cultural committees, have generally been the dreary embrace of the status quo and the old prejudice, until the people with new ideas (when frustrated sufficiently) quietly escape to the east and west coasts. Cultural committees have been booster groups unwilling to engage in controversy with established power or even to admit that the possibility of controversy exists. They are around to save face.

If arts councils and cultural committees are not magical solutions to cultural problems it is because these are finally, human problems and power problems and the power has always rested ultimately with the businessman and politician and not the artist.

Is not then our key problem adjustment of the power situation in order to advance the arts?

Here is a new policy suggested for the new council in St. Louis: open agendas openly arrived at and openly reported on. This does not mean that the public should be invited to attend board or committee meetings, although press coverage of many sessions is an idea to be considered rather than dismissed.

It does mean that the public should be informed by any public or quasi-public arts, educational, or cultural council or committee: (1) what issues are on the agenda, (2) the disposition that is made of these issues and (3) why. It does mean that the public should be allowed in orderly fashion to place items on that agenda and, under some circumstances, should be allowed the opportunity to call for public hearings on a given question. In all of this procedure there should be an active reaching out by the council or committee to those with special knowledge and a point of view and not merely a passive acceptance of what comes to it.

Only in the public light of day will deliberations on cultural questions, too long considered as private affairs of the few, become what they are: the public's business. An informed public is no automatic guarantee that the new idea will win out over the old prejudice, that action will triumph over the status quo, or that cultural progress will take precedence over group loyalty. Public attention to the work of any group is likely to be salutary in its effect, however, and

is a control over power we presently lack and must devise to insure against vested interests, twisted values, sheer disinterest, and plain stupidity in the direction of our cultural affairs.

It would also be helpful if the St. Louis arts council would call for the inclusion of the artist in the councils of business and government. How is he to be heard in *their* process of decision-making as the businessman and politician is heard in that of the arts? How will we make sure without him of taste in our public art, of dignity in our public buildings, of green and open spaces still kept free of industry, and of an urban renewal that not only allows but plans for the human dimensions of our daily life?

What we need is the artist and the educator and their like fully included in the power structure, sharing what has so long been denied, their equal right to help decide the shape and fate of their community. To the extent that arts councils and their cultural centers provide this opportunity for influence and power, they are devices important to the whole idea of the free society. What they can never do is the work of the artist for him. They can make it easier for the artist to create, to concentrate on his own work, by assuring an environment that supports both his purpose and his individuality and is ready to provide him with every opportunity to be recognized on the basis of whatever merit he may possess.

Organization can only be in support of creativity. If St. Louis keeps this principle in mind it will lead the Midwest.



Robert Ahrens is the director of the Division of Continuing Education and Extension at Roosevelt University, Chicago. He is a member of the Cultural Advisory Committee of Mayor Daley's Committee for Economic and Cultural Development. He is the former executive director of the Adult Education Council of Greater Chicago.

EDITORIALS

continued from page 6

that joint fundraising has failed. Fifty per cent more people and firms gave to the arts and education than ever before in the history of St. Louis (from 5500 gifts to 8500), and over \$100,000 in new funds were secured. Moreover, by now nearly fifty cultural agencies have elected to join the Arts Council and are ready to begin the non-fundraising activities.

Charles Mark, executive director of the Council, points out that the Arts Council was forced into existence one year ahead of plans by the emergency financial needs of several members. From mid-January to April 29 a corporate charter was written and approved, by-laws adopted, a volunteer campaign organization assembled, agencies screened and accepted, records of six previously independent campaigns merged, new budgets drawn up, officers appointed, tax exemption secured, and promotion and staff organized. The question arises whether it was advisable to undertake such a hasty effort. Probably a greater measure of success was sacrificed for expediency; but, says Mark, the financial needs of the agencies called for immediate steps.

The board directing the future of the Council should avoid any rash decision at this point. The suggestion to use available funds on a ten-month basis is excellent. Except for the St. Louis Symphony which operates only for a few months, it will solve the immediate problems and permit the participants to plan future activities more thoroughly.

DATELINES

continued from page 9

among the many professionally skilled persons who pitched in were a Negro surgeon, a Chinese neurologist, a Jewish pediatrician, and another resident physician named Baker with a lovely white Anglo-Saxon face to match.

These backgrounds so obviously didn't matter. In the intense drama, knowledge, skill, and intelligence was all that counted. Commonly we see our urban centers as concentrations of social problems. But the cities' technological demands and achievements can also purge men of the ugly parts of their nature.

I witnessed a many-sided victory.

FOCUS/Midwest

FOR THE CONSUMER

Federal Trade Commission

Consent Orders (Respondents' agreement to discontinue challenged practices is for settlement purposes only and does not constitute an admission of a violation of law.)

The FTC announced that the following two companies and their officials have consented to orders requiring them to stop misrepresenting the fiber content of their wool and textile products: Myra Textile Company, Inc., 337 S. Franklin St., Chicago; and Yale Woolen Mills, Yale, Mich.

The FTC has issued a consent order requiring E. P. Sorensen, doing business as Belden School of Nursing at 2525 Sheffield Ave., Chicago, to stop misrepresenting his correspondence course of instruction in auxiliary nursing

The FTC has issued a consent order forbidding Philip and Max M. Kasper, co-partners trading as Kasper Furs, 17 N. State St., Chicago, to misbrand and falsely invoice furs.

George N. and Theodore Zoros, co-partners trading as George N. Zoros, 336 N. Michigan, Chicago, have consented to a FTC order forbidding them to misbrand fur products which they manufacture and retail.

A consent order announced by the FTC forbids two Chicago jewelry retailers and distributors of "packaged promotions" to make deceptive pricing, savings, guarantee and "free" claims, and to misrepresent the metal composition, brand name and manufacturer of any merchandise. Name in the order are: *Volumes in Values, Inc., and Marks Bros. Jewelers, Inc.*

Two affiliated Midwestern home improvement concerns are required by an FTC consent order to stop using deceptive pricing, quality and guarantee claims and other misrepresentations. Joined in the order are Kenron Awning & Window Corp., 3450 W. Peterson Ave., Chicago; Kenron Awning and Window Corporation of Wisconsin, 4251 N. 12th St., Brookfield, Wis. They manufacture and install aluminum storm windows and doors and fiberglass awnings.

Parker-Allen Industries, Inc., 616 North Lake Shore Drive, Chicago, is required by an FTC consent order to stop misrepresenting the composition, quality, quantity, usual price or availability of its merchandise. The concern sells furniture, tableware, wrench and tool sets, drills, fishing equipment and various other articles to retailers for resale to the public.

ORDER

The FTC announced that its staff has been ordered to investigate the use of audience ratings by broadcasters, advertising agencies, and advertisers to determine whether their practices violate the Federal Trade Commission Act.

The FTC announced dismissal of charges that Sans & Streiffe, Inc., 565 W. Washington St., Chicago, has made deceptive pricing and savings claims for its merchandise. However, the Commission ordered the concern to stop making false guarantee claims.

Answer to FTC Charges (Companies ask that the complaint be dismissed).

Post Graduate School of Nursing, Inc., 131 S. Wabash Ave., Chicago, has denied FTC charges of misrepresenting its correspondence course in auxiliary nursing.

Estee Bedding Co., 2100 W. 21st St., Chicago, a manufacturer of bed-

ding and furniture, has denied FTC charges that deceptive pricing, savings and guarantee claims have been made for merchandise sold by nine "Estee Sleep Shops."

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Chicago 11

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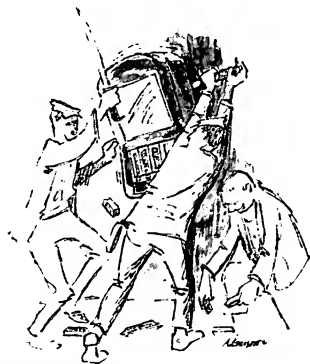
—LINUS PAULING

Chris Pauling

HAVERSTICK

short story

by edward franklin



THE HIAWATHA CARAMEL COMPANY
Point Lolomar, California
Greetings:

It is with a blush of shame that I write this, twelve years later, to inform you that underneath the wild boysenberry vines at the foot of Ocean View Drive lie the sad remains of

Haverstick and his bayonet, picking, picking away while the wind comes in from the Pacific and tears off great slices of dried eucalyptus skin which comes crashing down through the branches, clattering against the hard trunks of the trees across the highway. Everyone else is out except for a few sleepers, one underwear washer and the three other members of the Camp Smart Tennis Team (Junior Phipps, Morgan and myself, well, Crazy Legs Cushman). We sit quietly on our bunks, restricted to quarters by our Commander and Coach, Major Wetmore, after losing to the B Team of Lolomar High School.

Kneeling now on the floor Haverstick is trying to see what will happen if he keeps running the point of his bayonet up through the generous mouth of the candy machine and into its vitals. He does this every night and though nothing ever happens, he keeps at it, picking, poking, twisting.

a CARACO CANDY CANTEEN. You know, the wall model offering six choices, two of which were always bags of Hiawatha Caramels, Creamy Rich Lights or Mellow Rich Browns. As an added convenience a 12 by 12 inch mirror was provided, just the right height to use while tying non-regulation windsor knots in our field scarves.

Camp Smart is part of the Training and Replacement command. Each group of overseas bound marines is delayed at least long enough to participate in one overnight trip to the back hills of the artillery range where they are ambushed by a band of "Chinese Raiders" (the Camp Smart Tennis Team) who wear sprigs of Queen's Lace in their helmets and who shout obscenities learned from a booklet mimeographed by Major Wetmore. Our

favorite, of course, is, "Melican Maline blasteds, you die!"

No more of that, now wholesale rejection, the four of us reassigned to the next group of outward bound, forced to take the overnigher and be attacked by our successors on the team, all because Major Wetmore does not want to "look at any man whose second serve isn't faster than his first" (all four of us), or "fiddle around with anyone who flubs an easy overhead smash by stepping on a loose ball and sliding feet first under the net" (Haverstick).

The particular CARACO CANDY CANTEEN in question was bolted to the west wall of Barracks 118 at Camp Smart, or at least was until the night of April 17th. 1952, at which time

"I've got it," says Haverstick, in what a first sounds like a painful parody of his afternoon's performance, a singles match against a nearsighted sophomore named Julien Wadsworth, but no, both his bayonet blade and his left arm are swallowed by the machine. "Almost, no kidding, it's going to give birth any second," and the excitement causes the ends of his blond mustache to twitch like a bird's tail. Then, "See? See?" as he holds a Smacker's Bar aloft. He shoves the candy into his mouth and begins to chew, paper and all, leaving his hands free to bring forth the next item. A KoKo Nut Chew. Next a bag of Hiawatha Caramels, the Mellow Rich Browns, the most popular kind. Junior Phipps slides off his bunk and goes over to help. He is followed by Morgan, then by myself.

it was forcibly removed by four marines armed with three bayonets and two rifles (Caliber .30, M1). It might hearten you to know that two bayonet blades were broken during the operation, pointing up, I am sure, the superior workmanship that went into the making of a CARACO CANDY CANTEEN rather than indicating the inferior quality of our armament that year.

This machine is there, to remain there, reflecting hundreds of windsor knots long after we've been shipped out. It will remain on the quiet wall accepting the unimaginative dimes of each new group, issuing forth its token sweets with unblinking regularity. Like hell it will. It's going to die with us, face cracked, side split, guts falling out and banging around on the floor. We wade in the gore, grinding Hiawatha Caramels underfoot while trying to deal a solid death blow to the already dying thing.

Once the attack is over we have our fill of Hiawatha's but we also have a corpse on our hands. We sit on the floor surrounded by the debris and keep haunted eyes turned away as Haverstick, whistling through his teeth, finishes the job of prying the corpse off the wall. When it falls his whistling stops. With sad regret he collects the scattered parts and tucks them back into the ruptured mouth, then goes over and gets Junior's blanket.

The four of us hover over the wool covered body, planning. The only suitable burial place is outside the camp, far, far outside. What we need is someone brave

Edward Franklin won the Phelan Award for Literature, Honorable Mention in the Joseph Henry Jackson Contest, and was one of the American finalists in the Carl Foreman Award sponsored by Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc. "Haverstick" is the first public appearance for Franklin.

enough to get out the gate without a liberty card, someone strong enough to catch the machine when it is thrown over the cyclone fence, someone sturdy enough to lug the thing down Ocean View Drive to the edge of the limestone cliff, someone with good legs, crazy legs, good old Crazy Legs.

Now, personally endangered, I feel I have the right to curse Haverstick openly and I do while climbing into my dress greens. I pick up my tennis racket, solemnly shake hands with Junior and with Morgan, walk past Haverstick, kneeling with his arm around the fallen machine, and go outside into the wind.

Should Mr. Nicholas (Nick) Nicholai still be in your employ I do wish you would offer him my sincerest apology for the time he spent searching Camp Smart and environs that following Saturday and for any anxiety suffered by him or the company over the fact that one of your canteens was missing in action, so to speak.

Whitie Whatsaw is on the gate, Whatsaw who never has quite understood the strange comings and goings of the tennis team, sometimes in Captain Allain's station wagon dressed in white shorts, hair neatly combed, sometimes in the back of a jeep with black faces and sprigs of Queen's Lace. As he sees me coming he cocks his head and gets ready for confusion. I help by calling, "Big game tonight, Whitie," twirling my racket in his face.

"Yeah. Yeah," he says, stepping out of the way, "and give 'em hell, huh?"

A hundred yards down from the gate the others wait with their ominous load. They heave it over the top strand of barbed wire, blanket and all, and though I don't exactly catch it, I do keep it from bouncing all over Ocean View Drive. As I stagger off into the wind Haverstick is leaning on the fence, his thin fingers hanging through the wire like despondent worms, watching me go.

A final thing, as I stand on the edge of the cliff and allow the heavy weight to slide out from under the blanket, the untouched coin box is jingling with renewed life as the carcass tumbles end over end down into the midst of the boysenberries.

I am enclosing a money order in the amount of \$10.00 (Ten Dollars) as an initial payment and you may expect to receive the same amount each month until you are fully reimbursed for your loss.

There doesn't seem to be much else to say except I'm sorry and I'm sure the other three are equally as sorry. You see, we were very young then.

Having a nice warm summer up here this year and hope you are enjoying the same although I remember that lousy fog you have every morning from July through September.

*Faithfully yours,
(Semper Fidelis you know, ha-ha)
JULIEN WETMORE
Please excuse this — shame and
prudence force me to sign a fictitious name.*

Haverstick. I can see him back at his father's hardware store in Michigan, his blond mustache faded, his thin restless hands reaching out during slack periods, to finger the merchandise. But then I can't be sure he made it through the war, can I. I hope he did though, crazy blasted.

August, 1963

TO MY FRIEND EISENTRAGER, WHO HAS PROBABLY BY NOW BEEN SWALLOWED WHOLE BY THE WHITE WHALE, ASSUMPTED INTO THE LAP OF GAUTAMA BUDDHA, SPARED FROM DEATH BY THE LOCH NESS MONSTER OR DISINTEGRATED BY THE PERSON HE HATED MOST, DADDY WARBUCKS. WHEREVER HE IS . . .

Your calling card read: "Left. Address Unknown." Tongues wagged when you hit town again, and you were always returning from fantastic travels, staggering under your wanderer's myth and pack.

What kind of hunger drove you on and on? Your figure slumped and swept of stories wakened urges in us to be up with you, away and gone.

My fingers buried in a scholar's book, I saw that fleeing image, the dark-captured sack, grow as it diminished into the night alone. And envious Mette broke into a fit that night and stabbed your picture in the face, so much the haunted eyes of you harassed her.

I marched in place, let's say, staying put in smaller circles, but I roamed with you: I saw you loping the demon roads, old coyote, driven on by dark, roadside borders; I saw you pause as stocky farmers pulled damp cheeses from steaming manure piles and clicked their gold teeth and spat lime,

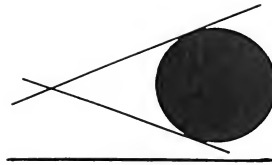
Saw you flounder among hungry women who pressed figs in your eyes, festooned flowers and aromatic chilies in your dusty loins, garnished up 'a prodigal feast, come home.

Queued up at the wicket, watching blackflies crawl among the marble toes of peons, I saw you wait, too, patient as a lizard.

Hands apologetic, in a green eyeshade, a civil servant smiles and shrugs: "A great sadness. Too bad, senor," he says. "There is not enough hunger to go around."

Oh, it rains all the time here, my friend.

S. K. Oberbeck is on the staff of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch. He has published in various periodicals, and was represented in an Anthology of College Poets published by Twyane Publishers. He is FOCUS/Midwest's columnist for "Dateline: St. Louis."



BOOKS

A Vivid Dramatization

LAWD TODAY by Richard Wright.
(Walker & Co., \$3.50, 189 pp.)

This short novel by the writer whom many believe to be the most talented Negro author yet to appear on the American scene — including James Baldwin — is essentially a rough draft which the author himself must have thought inadequate and unfinished. It was written before "Native Son," but for some reason remained unpublished until Wright's widow released it after his death. Perhaps, in the way of authors, he was fond of this first-born and always intended sooner or later to do something about shaping it up. Wright was always a hurried, passionate, restless man.

"Lawd Today" deals with one day in the life of Jake Jackson, a Negro clerk in the Chicago post office. It is Lincoln's birthday and throughout the narrative radio interruptions about the Great Emancipator's freeing of the slaves supply contrapuntal irony. The Depression is at its depth, and Jake ought to be (and is to some extent) proud of and grateful for his government job. But he is a harried and discontented individual, heavily burdened with social and economic woes.

None of Wright's chief protagonists was ever of heroic mold, and Jake is surely the least admirable of the lot. The description of his physical attributes is as repulsive as those offered by such rampant white Southerners as Thomas Dixon, author of "The Clansman." We see Jake arising grumpily to make his way to the bathroom, "... his fat black feet spreading like cobra heads upon the carpet." Gazing disgustedly in the mirror, he observes "... a face round as a full moon and dark as a starless midnight. In an oily expanse of blackness were set two cunning eyes under which hung flabby pouches. A broad nose squatted fat and soft, its two holes gaping militantly forward like the barrels of a shotgun. Lips were full, moist, and drooped loosely,

trembling when he walked. A soft roll of fat seeped out of his neck, buttressing his chin. Shaggy sideburns frizzed each temple." He begins his morning toilet by plastering down his kinks with an extreme form of what television commercials now call "greasy kid stuff." Then, after considerable deliberation, he selects one of the gaudiest of his ten suits.

Lil, Jake's pious and cringing wife, is the scapegoat for his various frustrations. He resents the debt incurred for an abortion he forced upon her when she was an ingenuous bride. Her health ruined, she "ain't no good" to Jake "in that way," and in addition she needs an operation for a tumor. Jake accuses her unjustly of infidelity with the milkman, jeers at her religious literature, smacks her about, refuses to give her any money for food, and departs in search of funds with which to have a high old time drinking and enjoying himself with more attractive females.

Policy fails him, as usual, and he is reduced to carfare with which to reach his post office job. Wright's sure hand for picturing the 47th Street neighborhood he knew so well was never exhibited to better advantage. Jake spends the better part of his day in a card game with three post office pals, on a tour during which all the sights and sounds of the seething avenue come vividly to life, and making plans for an evening's wassail on dough borrowed from a white loan shark.

Like Caliban, Jake has momentary flashes of bright yearnings, but they are conditioned by his warped outlook and his bitter resentment of the

white Prosperos. Admiring a patent-medicine fakir expounding in a street demonstration, he observes wistfully: "You know, I'd like to study and learn something like that."

To Jake and his buddies Jack Johnson the pugilist is a symbol of race pride. But "the white folks tricked 'im"; they "just ain't going to let no black man get to the top." As for Joe Louis, just defeated by Schmeling, "he was doped." Harried by his white supervisors on the job, Jake is beguiled by a phantasy:

"He saw millions of black soldiers marching in black armies; he saw a black battleship flying a black flag; he himself was standing on the deck of that black battleship, surrounded by black generals; he heard a voice commanding: FIRE! Boooooom! A black shell screamed through black smoke and he saw the white head of the Statue of Liberty topple, explode, and tumble into the Atlantic Ocean."

The black workers can't even listen to one of their number tell about his sex experiences without a white worker standing by, listening, and laughing. It all makes them "... feel like going outdoors and looking up at the sun and cussing Gawd!" They recall the days when they headed with high hopes for Chicago, the Promised Land. "Lawd, I'd rather be a lamppost in Chicago than the President of Mississippi ..." Embittered and disillusioned, they recall "... there was some good times in the South."

Jake's day ends in sodden and drunken violence. Even the big whorehouse party he had planned on the borrowed money is ruined when he is robbed and tossed out. Again he takes it out on poor Lil. Wounded and bleeding from trying to defend herself, she rests her head upon her knees and sobs hopelessly: "Lawd, I wish I was dead."

Within the short compass of the book, Wright manages to survey practically every aspect of race relations as they looked on that Lincoln's

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birthday. He does it through the jaundiced, misinformed viewpoints of Jake and his friends, but in the end a vivid and dramatic realization of the situation has been evoked. The dialogue and background descriptions are convincing. Despite its frequent gaucheries, *Lawd Today* is an impressive performance.

Jack Conroy

Timely Study

THE POLITICS OF REAPPORTIONMENT, edited by *Malcolm E. Jewell*. (Atherton Press, \$6.75, 334 pp.)

When Illinois lost a seat in Congress after the 1960 census it required a tense special session of the legislature to carve out twenty-four new Congressional districts. The final solution was achieved under pressure by negotiations between Democratic and Republican party leaders and it was reasonably equitable, according to David W. Minar of Northwestern University who contributed the essay on Illinois to this volume. An approximate balance between populous Cook County and "down-state" was maintained by giving twelve seats to each, although in Cook County the city of Chicago was slightly over-represented in comparison with its growing suburban area. The engineers of reapportionment also expected the new districts to reflect the close rivalry between Democrats and Republicans statewide, and the election of twelve representatives from each party in 1962 proved them right. One casualty of redistricting, however, was the defeat of Democrat Peter H. Mack by conservative Republican Paul Findley as a result of the amalgamation of their two old districts into one new district.

Such close state-by-state analyses of legislative as well as Congressional apportionment and their consequences fill the pages of this book, which grew out of a conference in St. Louis in 1961. Although Illinois is the only strictly Midwestern state brought under scrutiny, fourteen are covered all told from New York to California to Florida. A comparative essay by Malcolm E. Jewell of the University of Kentucky also summarizes common problems. Many states are not so near to equitable representation as Illinois or, for example, Missouri even

with its constitutional provisions for progressive under-representation in the state legislature of urban counties as they gain in population. Indeed, the gross pattern which emerges in this book is one of continued under-representation for metropolitan and particularly suburban areas and over-representation for rural areas in the statehouses and, partly as a result but to a lesser degree, in Congress. The full effect of the Supreme Court ruling in the Tennessee apportionment case of 1962 was hardly discernable as this book went to press, however, and we have yet to learn the consequences of the Georgia case of 1963 in which Justice William O. Douglas put forth the maxim of "one person, one vote." In short, the major developments toward equitable legislative representation may yet lie ahead.

For anyone who wants to follow or participate in these developments, this volume should provide a valuable handbook of the forces, obstacles, strategies, tactics, and techniques that are likely to be involved.

William Nisbet Chambers

Education by Free Association

THE COMMUNITY OF SCHOLARS, *Paul Goodman* (Random House, \$3.95, 175 pp.)

Paul Goodman is a fortunate anachronism, an anarchist and a utopian—a medievalist reactionary of the left.

"My concern," says Goodman in "The Community of Scholars," "is liberal education, the education of the sons of the free, to be free and to exercise initiative in the world they inherit. . . . I propose an ancient but neglected invention, the community of scholars. Given it, it does not matter much about the syllabus. Without it, nothing will be learned, though many may get degrees."

There are two conflicting conceptions of the role of the college, that of the scholars themselves and that

of society. In the view of the scholars, the students and teachers are a community by virtue of the humanism and internationalism of their shared tradition. They "do not easily abide the local prejudices." Kant called the college the watchdog of society. At best it is *amicus* to the nation, representing its historical experience and ideal goals. These cultural ideals are for society, but often conflict with the short-range, provincial objectives that determine policy.

Extramural society's position is represented by James Bryant Conant, who asks the question: How can the schools best satisfy "national needs," train enough technicians to keep ahead of the Russians, fit students to available jobs, dampen 'social dynamite' building up in city slums? The institutionalization of this view has produced the college administration.

Goodman objects that the role played by administration is inherently at odds with the aims of education. This role, as he sees it, is to isolate the scholars from their proper field of activity as critics of society and to insure their conformity: "The president's real function is to encourage extramural interest in the college and to discourage intramural incidents that might arouse extramural antagonism. He is not a teacher. His relation with his teachers is, as a generalist, to allocate their skills . . . to meet society's changing needs." Administration represents the morality and material interests of society, rather than the special culture of the scholars. The particular concern of U. S. high-level educational administrators is to make the college as much as possible like a large business corporation.

Administration is not a natural part of the community of scholars, which consists only of students, their teachers, and occasional "veterans." The relationships within this group define the process of education. Since masters must teach and pass on what they know, and since the young must learn—how to handle the material, as well as how to be adult—the sole requisite for education is that both be free to seek each other out. But it is precisely this freedom that administration must avoid.

The relations between groups so necessary to each other will always be somewhat anarchic, somewhat fluid; they will have much of the flavor of the erotic. The management concept of education, on the other hand, demands predictability.



As a result, the community of scholars fails in its function, and the nation loses much thereby. The students, cut off from their teachers, retreat to the adolescent subculture; they meet requirements, learn to "psych-out" exams and write game-winning papers. But they are not educated "to be free and exercise initiative." They do not grow up. Teachers are equally isolated. They cannot really teach so they lecture instead. They publish or perish; but since they write only for colleagues and do not confront the problems of society, their publications are trivial. The community of scholars can best serve real national needs by applying the intellectual skills that are their particular excellence to real problems; but this possibility does not exist within the present structure of colleges.

Goodman concludes that reform is impossible within the present college system. "The very changes that are needed are the ones that administrations must resist, for they curtail administration's reason for being and jeopardize its security. Decentralizing control, splitting up rather than expanding, dispensing with credits, grading, and admissions, deemphasizing buildings and grounds . . ." He proposes secession. A few teachers and professionals, with their students, should withdraw from the university and carry on the educational dialectic in free association, without benefit of administration. "If it could succeed in a dozen cases — proving that there is a viable social alternative to what we have — the entire system would experience a profound and salutary jolt."

Goodman is Socratic in his faith that only ignorance prevents men from choosing the good. Assuming that secession schools can succeed, does he really think their example would somehow produce sweeping reforms in the educational establishment, restoring freedom of communion?

Black Mountain College, where Goodman taught for a time, is the most recent example of a secession school. It lasted twenty-five years, a considerable intellectual center, then folded "like a little magazine," leaving no apparent impress on the structure of American education.

Another disturbing point in Goodman's analysis is his insistence on the presence of "veterans" in the community of scholars. He says that students can respect these men, since they have been active in the world. How is this proposal to be imple-

mented? Medical and law school faculties include practicing doctors and lawyers; but our society recognizes no role of practicing philosopher, for example. Goodman asks for a breed of men that does not exist.

We must not, I think, regard Goodman's proposals as a plan for reform within the present social structure. The ideal community of scholars is part of an ideally humane society. If society is fluid and the scholars free, they will naturally seek to work in society, and will be able to do so. They cannot within our system. Reform of the college is not separate from reform of society. Colleges will be the locus for social criticism, but for the scholars to resume their critical role, society itself must change and change radically.

In the end, the great problem in reading Goodman is the difficulty of knowing to what extent he himself regards his proposals as an adequate plan for action, or to what extent they are only a way of emphasizing the problem.

The problem Goodman presents us with is a classic one: Can you reform a bad system or must such a system be rejected? Goodman's answer is secession. I am inclined to agree with him, that it is possible to work in the system only by accepting its peculiar logic, and that the logic of the administration is incompatible with humanistic education; but I cannot share his optimism for secession. I would suggest, rather, that there is *no* hope for immediate educational reform — not without some alleviation of cold-war rigidity and conservatism in our society. The experiment should be made, but will probably have little effect.

Paul Goodman has been described by an opposition critic as "the most delightfully wrong person I have ever read." I disagree. The worst error he can be charged with is too much faith in human goodness.

Ben Achtenberg

Books For Focus

"Burn, Killer, Burn!" by Paul Crump (Johnson Publishing Company, Inc., \$4.95, 391 pp.). While Paul Crump awaited death on a murder charge, he wrote this novel, the sad, bad story of a Negro boy, whose life pattern was somewhat similar to Crump's. At twenty the protagonist was dead, without the opportunity to undo any of the mis-

chief caused by him or his surroundings. Crump lives to understand his life and some day to write an even better account of it. This novel is a good first attempt. It is remarkable in that its author, an almost unlettered man when he entered the Cook County Jail, has learned how to express himself with distinction.

The book does not preach or scold in too obvious fashion; it is a social document of value. It should be read by those who want to understand why Negroes suffer most from the world's sins. They will learn that the crime, dope, delinquency, disease, and generally supercharged life of the black milieu are not the cause of the Negro's plight in America, but the effect of it.

Elmer Gertz

A Dictionary of American Social Reform by Louis Filler (854 pp., Philosophical Library, \$15.00). An informative and balanced alphabetical presentation of issues, people, events, organizations, and movements which dominate American reform. Cross-references, bibliography, and legibility of print make it a handy work. The publishers state that "this is the first dictionary in modern times to provide a synthesis of American experiences with reform."

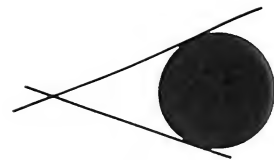
REVIEWERS

Jack Conroy was one of the first persons to notice the writings of Richard Wright when Wright was working in the Chicago post office. Wright's first published work appeared in Conroy's magazine, *The Anvil*, which Conroy was publishing in Moberly, Missouri. Conroy is the author of "The Disinherited," which Hill and Wang reissued in paperback a few months ago.

William Nesbit Chambers is professor of political science at Washington University (St. Louis). He is the author of *Old Bullion Benton*; Senator from the New West and Political Parties in a New Nation. He has collaborated on numerous other works.

Ben Achtenberg is a junior at Harvard University. His major field of study is social relations. His home is in Kansas City, Missouri.

Elmer Gertz is a Chicago attorney who has written for *FOCUS Midwest*, including an article "Capital Punishment is Legal Murder."



VOTING RECORDS

Congress

(Note: Votes with up to eight "nays" are not recorded in the table. However, the "nays" are named in the description of the bill following the vote totals).

Key to Symbols:

Y—Voting for the Bill
N—Voting against the Bill
P—Present but not Voting
(Only available for Missouri)
A—Absent
I—Absent because of Illness
(Only available for Illinois)
HB—House Bill
SB—Senate Bill
HJR—House Joint Resolution
SJR—Senate Joint Resolution
HCS—House Substitute
HCS—House Committee Substitute
SCS—Senate Committee Substitute

U. S. SENATE VOTES

S 1576. Authorize \$848.5 million in grants over a 10-year period to research, treatment and construction program for the mentally ill or retarded. Passed 72-1: R 23-1; D 49-0, May 27, 1963. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

HR 6009. Increase the temporary national debt limit from \$305 billion to \$307 billion for the remainder of fiscal 1963 and to \$309 billion for July and August, the first two months of fiscal 1964. Passed 60-24: R 15-13; D 45-11 (ND 35-2; SD 10-9), May 28, 1963. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

S 523. (Amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to set minimum ages on the employment of children in agriculture.) Tower (R Texas) amendment to permit children of any age to be employed by persons related to them by blood or marriage, instead of only by parents or guardians. Amendment rejected 36-52: R 22-7; D 14-46 (ND 2-36; SD 12-10), June 11, 1963. The President did not take a position on the amendment.

S 777. Authorize a two-year, \$20 million appropriation for the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Passed 59-14: R 18-9; D 41-5 (ND 30-0; SD 11-5), June 17, 1963. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

S 1163. Passage of the bill, increasing area redevelopment aid by \$455.5 million. Passed 65-30: R 12-21; D 53-9 (ND 39-1; SD 14-8), June 26, 1963. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

	S	HR	S	S	S
	1576	6009	523	777	1163
Long (D., Mo.)	AY	AY	N	AY	AY
Symington (D., Mo.)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Dirksen (R., Ill.)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Douglas (D., Ill.)	Y	PY	N	Y	Y

U. S. HOUSE VOTES

HR 6060. Equal Pay Act of 1963, requiring that equal work be compensated with equal pay, regardless of the sex of the workers. Open rule (H Res 362) for debate on the bill. Adopted 362-9: R 160-0; D 202-9 (ND 123-0; SD 79-9), May 23, 1963. President did not take a position on the bill.

HR 5497. Extending the existing program (PL 82-78) for recruitment of Mexican farm laborers through December 1965. (The Administration in 1963 proposed a one-year extension plus an amendment designed to strengthen the protection for domestic farm labor. After the House Agriculture Committee reported a two-year extension, without the amendment sought by the Labor Department, welfare, church and labor groups lobbied for defeat.) Rejected 158-174: R 78-53; D 80-121 (ND 17-101; SD 63-20), May 29, 1963. The President did not take a position on the bill.

HR 6755. Extend for one year, through June 30, 1964, temporary excise and corporation income taxes at their existing rates. Passed 283-91: R 71-86; D 212-5 (ND 130-0; SD 82-5), June 13, 1963. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

HJ Res 247. Suspend, for the 1964 Presidential campaign, section 315(a) of the Communications Act of 1934, requiring broadcasters to provide equal time for all political candidates. Passed 263-126: R 84-78; D 179-48 (ND 109-24; SD 70-24), June 19, 1963. A "Yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

HR 4897. Repeal the geographic limitation on the operation of the Sedition Act of 1917, which restricted prosecution for sedition to acts committed in the U. S., on the high seas, or within the U. S. admiralty and maritime jurisdiction. Opponents spoke not only against expansion of the law but against the Act itself. Rep. R. W. Kastenmeier (D. Wis.) said that whereas treason or espionage involved direct acts to help the enemy, "sedition involves no more than a public expression of opinion." Lindsay (R. N.Y.) motion to recommit (kill) the bill. Rejected 40-338: R 8-160; D 32-178 (ND 32-95; SD 0-83), July 16, 1963. The President did not take a position on the bill.

	MISSOURI	HR 6060	HR 5497	HR 6755	HR 4897	HJR 247
5 Bolling (D)	Y	A	A	Y	Y	Y
9 Cannon (D)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Hull, Jr. (D)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Ichord (D)	Y	A	Y	N	Y	Y
10 Jones (D)	Y	A	Y	N	Y	Y
1 Karsten (D)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Randall (D)	Y	A	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Sullivan (D)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Curtis (R)	Y	Y	N	Y	A	Y
7 Hall (R)	Y	Y	N	N	A	Y
	ILLINOIS	HR 6060	HR 5497	HR 6755	HR 4897	HJR 247
21 Gray (D)	Y	A	Y	N	Y	Y
24 Price (D)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
23 Shipley (D)	Y	PN	Y	N	Y	Y
16 Anderson (R)	Y	A	A	N	Y	Y
17 Arends (R)	A	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
20 Findley (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
14 Hoffman (R)	Y	PY	N	A	N	Y
12 McClory (R)	Y	A	N	N	Y	Y
19 McLoskey (R)	Y	PN	N	N	Y	Y
18 Michel (R)	A	A	N	N	Y	Y
15 Reid (R)	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
22 Springer (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
	Chicago	Y	A	Y	A	A
1 Dawson (D)	Y	A	Y	A	A	A
9 Finnegan (D)	A	A	Y	A	A	A
5 Kluczynski (D)	Y	A	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Libonati (D)	Y	PN	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Murphy (D)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 O'Brien (D)	A	N	Y	A	A	A
2 O'Hara (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Pucinski (D)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Rostenkowski (D)	A	N	Y	A	Y	Y
10 Collier (R)	Y	PN	PN	N	N	Y
4 Derwinski (R)	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
13 Rumsfeld (R)	Y	N	N	N	N	Y

States

MISSOURI SENATE VOTES

HB 42 Raises maximum old age and disability from \$65 to \$70 a month. Passed 29-0. (Jan. 22, 1963)

HB 43 Increases maximum aid to blind from \$65 to \$70 a month. Passed 29-0. (Jan. 22, 1963)

HB 44 Raises maximum blind pension from \$65 to \$70 a month. 29-0. (Jan. 22, 1963)

HB 213 Provides that any person who wilfully refuses to immediately relinquish a party line when informed that the line is needed for an emergency call is guilty of a misdemeanor. Passed 23-0. (June 18, 1963)

HB 304 Raises monthly blind pension from \$70 to \$75. Passed 26-0. (June 18, 1963).

HB 45 Outlaws "debt adjusting," the act of intermediating, for a fee, between debtors and creditors, as a misdemeanor. Passed 27-5 (Nays by Blackwell, Cason, Hill, Woolsey, and Young). (June 19, 1963)

HB 37 Provides no new auto shall be registered after June 30, 1964 unless equipped with safety belts. Passed 22-4 (Nays by Cox, Mackie, Macon, and Woolsey). (June 26, 1963)

HB 144 Provides procedures in automobile time sales aimed at elimination of alleged abuses and excessive charges. Contract of sale must set forth full details, as to exact charges for financing, for insurance of all types, for professional fees etc., so that all facets of transaction may be easily determined. Passed 25-4 (Nays by Blackwell, Downs, Keating, and Mackie). (June 26, 1963)

HB 173 Authorizes branch of University of Missouri in St. Joseph area. Passed 23-7 (Nays by Curtis, Kelly, Kinney, Mackie, Owens, Waters, and Woolsey). (June 28, 1963)

HB 129 Provides that defendants in cases of rape or sodomy shall be tried separately only in discretion of court. Passed 26-3 (Nays by Blackwell, Keating, and Young). (June 28, 1963)

HCS for SB 141 Provides that in determining the need of a claimant for old age assistance the first \$10 of earned income plus one-half of the remainder of the first \$50 of earned income shall be disregarded. Passed 31-0. (June 28, 1963)

HB 21 Provides that in order for any city in St. Louis County to annex adjacent unincorporated areas, proposition therefor must first be approved by voters of city and of area desired to be annexed, in separate, but simultaneous elections. Passed 19-7 (Nays by Avery, Barrett, Cason, Curtis, Schechter, Waters, and Young). (June 29, 1963)

SB 148 Establishes a medical care program for those not receiving public assistance grants, but who cannot provide extended medical care for themselves from available resources. It implements the Kerr-Mills Act. Recipient must be over 65 and need of aid must be demonstrated, medically and

financially. Passed 21-11. (June 30, 1963)

SB 231 Establishes the "State Reorganization Commission" to study state executive offices, departments, and agencies, to determine extent of conflict and duplication, and to recommend reorganization. Passed 25-0. (June 30, 1963)

SB 143 Makes changes as to the procedure to be followed in commitment, acquittal, release, and discharge of those adjudged mentally ill who have been accused of, or confined for, involvement in crimes. Passed 27-0. (June 30, 1963)

HB 525 Authorizes Kansas City to levy an earnings tax not to exceed one-half of one percent a year. Passed 25-6 (Nays by Cason, Johnson, Macon, Taylor, Waters, and Young). (June 30, 1963)

HCS for HB 218 Establishes the Missouri commission on higher education for coordinating and planning of higher education in the state. Passed 32-1 (Nay by Patterson). (June 30, 1963)

MISSOURI SENATORS	SB
Avery (D)	148
Barrett (D)	N
Blackwell (D)	N
Bondurant (R)	A
Brancato (D)	Y
Cason (D)	A
Cox (R)	Y
Curtis (R)	Y
Downs (D)	Y
Hatcher (R)	N
Hill (R)	Y
Hilsman (D)	Y
Hopfinger (D)	Y
Johnson (D)	N
Jones (D)	Y
Joynt (D)	N
Keating (D)	N
Kelly (R)	Y
Kinney (D)	Y
McNeal (D)	N
Mackie (D)	Y
Macon (R)	N
Owens (R)	Y
Patterson (D)	Y
Pentland (D)	N
Schechter (D)	Y
Spradling (D)	N
Taylor (R)	Y
Tinnin (D)	Y
Vanlandingham (D)	Y
Waters (D)	N
Webster (R)	Y
Woolsey (R)	Y
Young (D)	Y

MISSOURI HOUSE VOTES

HB 4 Amendment eliminates the \$132,391 appropriation for the state civil defense agency for the biennium 1963-1965. Passed 145-0. (April 30, 1963)

HB 213 Provides that any person who wilfully refuses to immediately relinquish a party line when informed that the line is needed for an emergency call is guilty of a misdemeanor. Passed 132-0. (April 30, 1963)

HB 144 Provides procedures in automobile time sales aimed at elimination of alleged abuses and excessive charges. Contract of sale must set forth full details, as to exact charges for financing, for insurance of all types, for professional fees, etc., so that all facets of transaction may be easily determined. Passed 125-10. (May 23, 1963)

HJR 30 Provides city and county of St. Louis may formulate and adopt any plan for partial or complete government of all or any part of the city and the county. Also provides freeholders appointed to propose plan shall be approved by Board of Alderman (City) and County Council, not by Circuit Judges as at present. Passed 120-3 (Nays by Estep, Gaulding, and Jackson). (June 18, 1963)

HB 385 Provides any person who wilfully inflicts upon any child under seventeen any cruel or inhuman corporal punishment or injury resulting in a traumatic condition is guilty of a misdemeanor. A physician,

treating such an apparent case, must advise prosecuting attorney in twenty-four hours. Passed 104-20. (June 18, 1963)

HB 364 Increases state aid to mental hospitals which are maintained by a county or city, from \$8 to \$540 per month for patients under curative treatment, and from \$8 per month to \$4 per day for patients receiving custodial care. Passed 96-14. (June 18, 1963)

SB 10 Authorizes St. Louis County Board of Elections Commissioners to conduct all school elections. Passed 143-0. (June 20, 1963)

SB 108 Authorizes licensed accountants, architects, attorneys, chiropractors, chiropractors, dentists, optometrists, physicians, and veterinarians to incorporate. The purpose of the act is to facilitate establishment of pensions and pension plans and other incentive and tax savings plans. Passed 106-18. (June 20, 1963)

HCS for SB 140 Implements Kerr-Mills act by broadening the additional hospital care provisions of public assistance program covering old age assistance, permanently and totally disabled, aid to dependent children, and unemployables. Passed 144-0. (June 26, 1963)

SB 78 Provides driving while intoxicated shall be: (1) on 1st conviction, a misdemeanor, punishable by up to six months in jail, up to \$100 fine, or both, (2) 2nd offense, a misdemeanor, up to 1 year, and (3) 3rd and subsequent offenses, a felony, punishable by imprisonment of 2 to 5 years. Passed 147-6 (Nays by Calloway, Conley, Moody, Portell, Troupe, and White). (June 27, 1963)

SB 148 Establishes a medical care program for those not receiving public assistance grants, but who cannot provide extended medical care for themselves from available resources. It implements the Kerr-Mills Act. Recipient must be over 65 and need of aid must be demonstrated, medically and financially. Passed 137-0. (June 29, 1963)

SB 231 Establishes the "State Reorganization Commission" to study state executive offices, departments, and agencies, to determine extent of conflict and duplication, and to recommend reorganization. Passed 126-2. (Nays by Calloway and Williams). (June 29, 1963)

SB 143 Makes changes as to the procedure to be followed in commitment, acquittal, release, and discharge of those adjudged mentally ill who have been accused of, or confined for, involvement in crimes. Passed 104-26. (June 30, 1963)

SCS for SB 109 Authorizes temporary one year license, without examination, to qualified physicians not U. S. citizens. Passed 102-8. (Nays by Brenton, Dickey, Estep, Gosser, Hughes (Dade), Lincoln, Wycoff, and Williams (Carroll)). (June 30, 1963)

SB 56 Authorizes establishment of Psychiatric Intensive Treatment Centers in St. Louis, Kansas City, and Columbia. Passed 150-0. (June 30, 1963)

SB 57 Establishes funds for the three institutions proposed in SB 56. Passed 142-1 (Nay by Baker). (June 30, 1963)

HS for SB 198 Increases judges of St. Louis City circuit court from 18 to 20. Passed 104-23. (June 30, 1963)

MISSOURI REPRESENTATIVES	HB	HB	HB	SB	SB	SB	SB
Allen (D)	144	385	364	108	143	198	
Anderson (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Arnold (R)	N	A	Y	N	N	Y	
Baker (D)	Y	Y	Y	A	P	Y	
Baltz (D)	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	
Bassman (R)	Y	A	A	Y	Y	Y	
Bauer (D)	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Beckerle (D)	Y	Y	A	A	P	Y	
Belt (R)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	A	
Berra (D)	Y	A	A	A	A	Y	
Betz (R)	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	
Bild (R)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Bollinger (D)	Y	A	A	Y	A	Y	
Brenton (R)	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	
Butler (R)	A	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	
Calloway (D)	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	

Caton (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	
Campbell (D)	Y	Y	Y	A	P	A	
Canaday (D)	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Cannon (D)	Y	A	A	N	A	P	
Cantrell (D)	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	
Carnahan (D)	A	A	A	Y	Y	Y	
Casey (D)	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	
Chinn (D)	Y	A	A	N	Y	A	
Clements (D)	A	Y	A	Y	A	Y	
Cole (D)	A	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
Conley (D)	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	
Connors (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	
Copeland (D)	Y	Y	A	A	Y	A	
Crigler (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	P	Y	
Dames (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Davidson (Henry) (D)	A	Y	A	Y	Y	A	
Davidson (Greene) (R)	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Davis (Webster) (D)	P	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	
Davis (Linn) (D)	Y	A	A	Y	Y	Y	
Degenhardt (R)	Y	Y	A	Y	N	N	
Dickey (R)	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	
Dickson (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Duensing (R)	A	Y	Y	A	N	Y	
Ellis (D)	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	A	
Estep (R)	Y	N	N	N	N	N	
Ewing (D)	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	
Fickle (D)	Y	Y	A	A	Y	Y	
Fitzgerald (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	
Foley (D)	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	
Frost (D)	Y	A	A	A	A	A	
Gannaway (R)	N	A	Y	Y	Y	N	
Garrett (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Gaulding (R)	Y	N	A	N	N	N	
Gault (R)	Y	Y	A	N	Y	Y	
Godfrey (D)	Y	A	A	Y	Y	Y	
Goldberg (D)	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	
Goode (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Gosser (R)	Y	N	N	N	N	N	
Gralike (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Groce (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Gunnell (R)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Hankins (R)	Y	N	N	A	A	A	
Hardy (D)	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	A	
Harlow (R)	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	
Harkins (R)	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Harris (D)	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	
Henson (D)	Y	A	Y	A	Y	Y	
Hibler (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Hickey (D)	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	
Holland (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Holliday (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Huey (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Hughes (Johnson) (R)	N	A	A	A	N	Y	
Hughes (Dade) (R)	N	A	A	N	N	N	
Hurt (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Jackson (D)	A	A	Y	A	A	A	
James (Dunklin) (D)	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	A	
James (Taney) (R)	Y	Y	N	Y	A	P	
Jasper (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	A	
Kay (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Keating (D)	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Keller (D)	Y	A	A	A	A	A	
Kidd (D)	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	
King (R)	A	N	Y	N	Y	Y	
Kirchner (R)	A	P	Y	N	Y	Y	
Kostron (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Lankford (D)	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	
Lincoln (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	
Mace (R)	A	A	Y	Y	A	A	
Mann (R)	N	N	N	N	Y	N	
Marsh (R)	A	Y	A	A	A	A	
Mason (R)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Masters (D)	Y	P	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Mazucca (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
McFadin (D)	Y	A	Y	A	Y	Y	
McHenry (D)	Y	A	Y	A	Y	Y	
McMahon (R)	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	
McMullin (D)	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Meeks (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	A	A	
Meyer (D)	Y	A	A	Y	Y	Y	
Mickelson (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	
Misbauer (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	
Moody (R)	Y	A	Y	Y	A	A	
Morris (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	
Neal (D)	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	
Noland (R)	A	N	Y	N	N	N	
O'Connor (D)	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	
O'Reilly (D)	Y	A	Y	A	Y	A	
Owen (D)	Y	Y	A	N	Y	N	
Pace (D)	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	
Patterson (D)	A	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	
Petrovic (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	
Phelps (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Portell (D)	A	Y	A	A	A	Y	
Proffer (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	
Rabbitt (St. L. Co.) (D)	Y	A	A	A	Y	Y	
Rabbitt (St. L. City) (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Raffie (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Reed (R)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	
Roberts (Andrew) (D)	Y	Y	A	A	Y	Y	
Roberts (St. Francois) (D)	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Robinson (D)	Y	Y	A	Y	A	Y	
Rolwing (R)	Y	Y	A	Y	A	Y	
Rosenbaugh (D)	A	A	Y	A	Y	Y	
Rothman (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Russell (St. L. Co.) (D)	Y	Y	A	N	Y	Y	
Russell (Laclede) (R)	Y	A	Y	A	N	N	

St. Peter (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Salley (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Sargent (R)	Y	A	A	Y	A	Y
Schapeler (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Schellhorn (D)	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Sheehan (D)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Simcoe (D)	N	A	A	A	A	Y
Simmons (R)	N	N	A	Y	A	Y
Simon (R)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Skaggs (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Smith (R)	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
Snyder (R)	Y	Y	A	Y	N	Y
Southern (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Spainhower (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Speer (R)	A	Y	A	A	N	Y
Sponsler (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Steelman (R)	A	Y	Y	Y	N	A
Stutler (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A
Taylor (R)	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
Trimble (D)	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y
Troupe (D)	Y	Y	Y	A	N	Y
Uthlaut (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Vaughan (R)	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
Walsh (D)	A	A	A	Y	Y	Y
Warden (R)	Y	Y	A	A	N	Y
Weatherly (D)	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y
White (D)	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	A
Whitney (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A
Wigfield (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Williams (Carroll) (R)	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
Williams (Buchanan) (D)	Y	A	A	A	Y	Y
Williams (Pike) (D)	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	A
Woods (D)	Y	A	A	Y	Y	Y
Wright (R)	Y	Y	N	A	A	A
Wyckoff (R)	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
Young (R)	Y	A	A	Y	A	A
Zeilmann (R)	Y	N	A	Y	N	Y
Zimmerman (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A
Zwibelman (D)	Y	A	A	A	Y	Y
Mr. Speaker (D)	A	A	A	Y	Y	A

ILLINOIS SENATE VOTES

HB 9 Prohibits establishment of any new city, village and incorporated town courts. Passed 48-3 (Nays by Broyles, Friedrich, and Kerr). (Feb. 27, 1963)

SB 15 Provides that after June 30, 1964, no person shall sell any new automobile unless the front seat is equipped with two sets of seat safety belts. Passed 42-4 (Nays by Graham, J. A., Larson, Laughlin, and Peterson). (May 2, 1963)

HB 134 Reduces to ten the number of employees an employer must have to be covered by the Fair Employment Practices Act. Tabled. (May 9, 1963)

SB 782 Provides for sale of State's interest in certain submerged land to United States Steel Corporation. Passed 53-0. (May 15, 1963)

SB 788 Provides that in municipalities other than Chicago, housing authorities are authorized to initiate, plan, study, and execute urban conservation projects. Passed 33-7 (Nays by Broyles, Carpentier, Downing, Graham, J. A., Groen, Peterson, and Sours). (June 6, 1963)

HB 603 Requires all new motor vehicles beginning with 1965 models to be equipped with seat belts. Tabled by unanimous consent. (June 10, 1963)

HB 575 Amends Public Assistance Code to provide the Commission shall provide social welfare services. Tabled. (June 11, 1963)

HB 269 Authorizes Secretary of State to revoke license of operator or chauffeur under 21 convicted of traffic violation resulting in bodily injury or death of another. Tabled. (June 12, 1963)

HB 332 Provides that there shall be facilities established and maintained for educable mentally handicapped children beginning September 1, 1964. Tabled. (June 13, 1963)

SB 1228 Provides for classes for instruction in basic adult education or vocational training of recipients, former recipients, and potential recipients under the Public Assistance Code. Passed 48-0. (June 13, 1963)

HB 7 Provides for the establishment of a fair labor minimum wage. Tabled. (June 13, 1963)

HB 578 Make it the duty of Director of Personnel to bargain collectively with representatives of employees performing police work in connection with mental, psychiatric, and pediatric institutions with respect to pay, hours of work, equipment, and other working conditions. Tabled. (June 14, 1963)

SB 1176 Creates a Commission on Capital Punishment. Passed 37-3 (Nays by Broyles, Larson, and Peterson). (June 17, 1963)

SB 1190 Provides for the supervision of private, denominational, and parochial schools by the superintendent of public instruction to prohibit the teaching of racial hatred and superiority. Passed 43-2 (Nays by Neistein and Simon). (June 18, 1963)

SB 1085 Provides for a study to determine the feasibility of the State operating a system of educational TV. Passed 40-3 (Nays by Carpentier, Sprague, and Swanson). (June 18, 1963)

HB 93 Includes public swimming pools as a place of public accommodation and amusement. Passed. (June 19, 1963)

HB 137 Amends the Fair Employment Practices Act to provide that "employer" includes and means the State of Illinois and any political subdivision. Passed. (June 19, 1963)

HB 435 Provides for licensing and regulating lie detection examiners by the Department of Registration and Education. Passed 41-3 (Nays by Coulson, Fawell, and Peterson). (June 20, 1963)

SB 1127 Legalizes wire tapping by police upon a court order issued by circuit judge for obtaining evidence of certain crimes. Defeated 19-18. (June 20, 1963)

SB 1200 Allows State employees to join or form unions. Prohibits the right to strike. Defeated 20-23. (June 20, 1963)

HB 41 Permits persons who have not fulfilled the residence requirements, but who are otherwise qualified to vote, to vote for presidential and vice-presidential electors. Passed 37-3 (Nays by Friedrich, Gilbert, and Peterson). (June 20, 1963)

HB 148 Declares it is against public policy of the State for a landlord to terminate or refuse to renew a lease of residential property because tenant has complained to authorities of bona fide violation of building code or health ordinance. Passed 35-7 (Nays by Carpentier, Dixon, Green, Peters, Peterson, Collins, and Friedrich). (June 20, 1963)

HB 92 Creates commission to study and investigate costs of hospital services in Illinois. Passed 40-5 (Nays by Coulson, Hatch, Laughlin, Peters, Peterson, and Davis). (June 20, 1963)

HB 310 Requires voter registration in township elections. Passed 31-15. (June 20, 1963)

HB 315 Provides that a person who has resided in this state less than one year or in the county less than 90 days, but who has resided in the election district 60 days next preceding a presidential election and who was a qualified elector in another state or county immediately prior to his removal to this state or county is entitled to vote for presidential and vice-presidential electors. Passed 54-0. (June 20, 1963)

HB 356 Provides that no alcoholic liquor licensee shall knowingly sell, give, or deliver alcoholic liquor to any person who is a recipient of assistance or general assistance under the Public Assistance Code of Illinois. Defeated 11-35. (June 20, 1963)

HB 368 Permits employees of the Public Aid Commission to submit information concerning crimes directly to law enforcement officials. Passed 52-2 (Nays by Neistein and Smith). (June 20, 1963)

HB 373 Provides for the taxation and licensing of certain coin-operated amusement devices. Passed 45-3 (Nays by Eberspacher, Finley, and Neistein). (June 20, 1963)

HB 693 Amends School Code. Provides that no proposition which is substantially the same shall be submitted for voting on

more than once every 9 months if it pertains to indebtedness, every 6 months if it pertains to taxes, or every 2 months if it pertains to any other public measure. Passed 53-1 (Nay by Ozinga). (June 21, 1963)

HB 739 Provides that at the beginning of the first class each school day in all elementary schools, the pupils shall recite a pledge of allegiance to the United States and the flag. Passed 54-0. (June 21, 1963)

HB 800 Permits corporate authorities in Chicago to designate and preserve areas, buildings, works of art and other objects of special historical or esthetic interest and empowers them to lease such areas and objects or condemn and purchase them and issue revenue bonds in connection therewith. Passed 44-4 (Nays by Hatch, Ozinga, Peterson, and Swanson). (June 24, 1963)

HB 818 Provides that in addition to administrative remedy, any pupil, employee, or applicant subjected to discrimination may seek relief by filing an appropriate action at law or in equity. Passed 21-11. (June 24, 1963)

HB 849 Provides that refusal to admit applicants to business schools solely on account of race, color, or creed is cause for refusal, suspension, or revocation of certificate or permit. Passed 49-0. (June 24, 1963)

HB 1007 Establishes statewide curfew between 12:01 a.m. to 6:00 a.m. Friday and Saturday and 11:00 p.m. to 6:00 a.m. Monday through Thursday for persons under 18 years of age. Passed 31-15. (June 25, 1963)

HB 1207 Authorizes the formation of Medical Corporations. Provides that a person licensed pursuant to the Medical Practice Act may form a corporation pursuant to the Business Corporation Act. Passed 42-8 (Nays by Arrington, Eberspacher, McCarthy, Peterson, Simon, Broyles, Gottschalk, and Neistein). (June 25, 1963)

HB 98 Permits a teacher to lead or cause to be led the daily recitation of certain lines of the National Anthem. Provides for excusing pupils upon written request of parent or guardian. Passed 46-6 (Nays by Cherry, Dixon, Gottschalk, Kinnally, Neistein, and Simon). (June 26, 1963)

HB 1367 Relates to State purchasing of motor vehicle supplies and provides for competitive bidding and the awarding of contracts and authorization cards by the Department of Finance for such. Defeated 8-18 (Nays by Cherry, Coulson, Dixon, Fawell, Hoffelder, Kusibad, Neistein, and Simon). (June 26, 1963)

HB 1544 Authorizes the Director of Personnel to enter into agreements with the Secretary of Labor and the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare for services and facilities in the administration of training programs provided for in the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962. Passed 40-8 (Nays by Arrington, Broyles, Carpentier, J. A. Graham, Hatch, Ozinga, Peters, and Sprague). (June 26, 1963)

HB 211 Prohibits use of public assistance records for political or commercial purposes. Permits inspection of records by the public. Passed 38-7 (Nays by Eberspacher, Grindle, Kinnally, Lyons, Peterson, Smith, and Ziegler). (June 27, 1963)

HB 298 Permits the State, public corporations, state educational institutions and bodies politic to enter into collective bargaining agreements with employees through their representatives, respecting wages, hours, conditions of employment, and for other mutual aids and benefits. Tabled by unanimous consent. (June 27, 1963)

HB 978 Reapportions the State of Illinois into 9 representative districts in Cook County outside Chicago, 21 districts in Chicago, and 29 districts outside Cook County. Passed 32-21. (June 27, 1963)

HB 1561 Provides that the birth of a second illegitimate child to a woman with whom a child receiving aid is living to be prima facie evidence that the home in which the child is living is not suitable to its welfare. Passed 44-8 (Nays by Coulson, Dixon, Dough-

erty, Kinnally, Lyons, Neistein, Simon, and Smith). (June 27, 1963)

HB 1562 Provides that parentage of two or more illegitimate children is grounds of unfitness for taking away the child. Passed 43-8 (Nays by Cronin, DeTolve, Dixon, Grindie, Kinnally, Lyons, McGlooin, and Smith). (June 27, 1963)

HB 1578 Gives Dept. of Public Health certain power and duties relating to phenylketonuria and requires physicians to report known cases. Passed 41-1 (Nay by Davis). (June 27, 1963).

HB 1589 Increases compensation of members of General Assembly to \$9,000 per year (now \$6,000). Provides additional yearly compensation of \$3,000 for Speaker of House, \$2,000 for majority and minority leaders of each house, and \$1,500 for majority and minority whips. Tabled by unanimous consent. (June 27, 1963)

	SB	SB	HB	HB	HB	HB	HB
	1127	1200	310	356	818	1007	978
Arrington (R)	Y	N	Y	Y	A	Y	Y
Bidwill (R)	A	N	Y	A	A	Y	Y
Broyles (R)	Y	N	Y	Y	A	Y	Y
Canfield (R)	A	N	Y	Y	A	A	Y
Carpentier (R)	N	N	N	Y	N	A	Y
Cherry (D)	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Collins (R)	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Coulson (R)	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
Cronin (D)	A	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Davis (R)	Y	N	A	A	N	A	Y
De La Cour (D)	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	A
De Tolve (D)	A	Y	A	A	A	A	N
Dixon (D)	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
Dougherty (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Downing (R)	N	N	A	A	N	N	Y
Drach (R)	A	N	Y	A	A	A	Y
Eberspacher (D)	A	Y	N	N	Y	A	N
Fawell (R)	Y	N	A	Y	N	N	Y
Finley (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Fox (D)	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Friedrich (R)	Y	A	N	N	A	Y	Y
Gilbert (R)	Y	A	N	N	A	N	Y
Gottschalk (R)	A	N	A	N	A	N	Y
Graham, J. A. (R)	A	N	A	N	N	A	Y
Graham, Paul (R)	A	A	N	N	A	N	Y
Green (R)	Y	A	N	Y	A	Y	Y
Grindie (D)	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
Groen (R)	A	A	A	A	Y	A	Y
Harris (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Hart (R)	N	N	Y	N	N	A	Y
Hatch (R)	Y	N	N	Y	A	Y	Y
Hoffelder (R)	A	A	A	Y	A	Y	A
Kerr (R)	A	A	A	Y	A	Y	Y
Kinnally (D)	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Kocarek (D)	A	Y	Y	N	Y	A	Y
Kusibab (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Larson (R)	Y	A	Y	N	A	N	Y
Laughlin (R)	Y	N	N	N	A	N	Y
Little (R)	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Lvons (D)	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Martin (R)	A	N	Y	A	A	Y	Y
McCarthy (D)	N	Y	Y	N	A	N	A
McGlooin (D)	N	A	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Meyer (R)	Y	A	Y	N	A	N	Y
Neistein (D)	N	Y	Y	A	N	Y	Y
O'Brien (D)	A	A	A	A	Y	N	Y
Ozinga (R)	A	A	Y	N	A	Y	Y
Peters (R)	N	N	Y	A	N	Y	Y
Peterson (R)	Y	N	N	A	N	Y	Y
Schlagenhauf (R)	Y	N	N	N	A	Y	Y
Simon (D)	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Smith (D)	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Sours (R)	N	N	Y	N	A	Y	Y
Sprague (R)	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Swanson (R)	N	A	N	Y	A	Y	Y
Sweeney (D)	A	Y	Y	N	A	N	Y
Welch (D)	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Ziegler (D)	A	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y

ILLINOIS HOUSE VOTES

HB 10 Prohibits the establishment of any new municipal court. Passed 148-3 (Nays by Graham, Hale, and R. A. Walsh). (Feb. 6, 1963)

HB 11 Prohibits the establishment of any new police magistrate. Passed 151-2 (Nays by Blades and R. A. Walsh). (Feb. 6, 1963)

HB 8 Removes liability of brothers and sisters for support of a public aid recipient. Passed 125-24. (March 14, 1963)

HB 253 Defines neglected child. Provides

reimbursement to the counties for care of children and their families, to operate children's institutions, and to provide certain other rehabilitative and residential services. Effective Jan. 1, 1964. Passed 114-23. (Mar. 14, 1963)

HB 254 Provides that reimbursement to the counties for care of children in industrial schools for girls shall be made by the Department of Mental Health only for care in those institutions which admit children on the basis of need without regard to race or ethnic origin. Passed 114-33. (Mar. 14, 1963)

HB 255 Provides that reimbursement to the counties for care of children in training schools for boys shall be made by the Department of Mental Health only for care in those institutions which admit children on the basis of need without regard to race or ethnic origin. Passed 114-33. (Mar. 14, 1963)

HB 41 Permits persons who have not fulfilled the residence requirements, but who are otherwise qualified to vote, to vote for presidential and vice-presidential electors. Passed 161-1 (Nay by Morgan). (Mar. 18, 1963)

HB 310 Requires voter registration in township elections. Passed 143-2 (Nays by Bairstow and Heiple). (Mar. 25, 1963)

HB 739 Provides that at the beginning of the first class each school day in all elementary schools, the pupils shall recite a pledge of allegiance to the United States and the flag. Passed 154-0. (Apr. 25, 1963)

HB 693 Amends School Code. Provides that no proposition which is substantially the same shall be submitted for voting on more than once every 9 months if it pertains to indebtedness, every 6 months if it pertains to taxes, or every 2 months if it pertains to any other public measure. Passed 118-27. (Apr. 30, 1963)

HB 849 Provides that refusal to admit applicants to business schools solely on account of race, color, or creed is cause for refusal, suspension, or revocation of certificate or permit. Passed 148-0. (May 1, 1963)

SB 313 Creates the Commission on Children and appropriates \$150,000. Repeals an Act relating to physically handicapped children and to educable mentally handicapped children and to create a Commission therefor. Passed 95-47. (May 15, 1963)

SB 114 Provides that in Cook County the Public Defender shall be appointed as counsel in all cases except capital cases for indigent defendants. In counties other than Cook and in counties without a public defender, where counsel is appointed by the court, the court shall order payment to such counsel of a reasonable fee. Passed 125-0. (May 16, 1963)

SB 115 Requires counties to appropriate for the payment of costs, expenses and legal services for indigent defendants in felony cases in counties other than Cook. Passed 125-0. (May 16, 1963)

SB 116 Provides court may, with the consent of the defendant, appoint counsel other than the public defender in counties other than Cook. Passed 125-0. (May 16, 1963)

SB 308 Appropriates \$4,500,000 to the Department of Mental Health for child welfare services. Tabled by unanimous consent. (May 15, 1963)

SB 346 Provides that the amount of assistance for any person shall not exceed \$80 per month, except that additional payments may be made for shelter, extraordinary medical treatment, care and supplies but shall not exceed \$185 when institutional care in a nursing home is required by the recipient. Provides limits of payments for aid to dependent children. Creates Legislative Advisory Committee. Passed 167-0. (May 16, 1963)

HB 356 Provides that no alcoholic liquor licensee shall knowingly sell, give, or deliver alcoholic liquor to any person who is a recipient of assistance or general assistance under the Public Assistance Code of Illinois. Passed 153-0. (May 21, 1963)

HB 800 Permits corporate authorities in Chicago to designate and preserve areas, buildings, works of art and other objects of special historical or esthetic interest and empowers them to lease such areas and objects or condemn and purchase them and issue revenue bonds in connection therewith. Passed 110-31. (May 23, 1963)

HB 368 Permits employees of the Public Aid Commission to submit information concerning crimes directly to law enforcement officials. Passed 124-0. (June 10, 1963)

HB 92 Creates commission to study and investigate costs of hospital services in Illinois. Passed 132-2 (Nays by Pollack and Whalen). (June 13, 1963)

SB 782 Provides for sale of State's interest in certain submerged land to United States Steel Corporation. Passed 142-4 (Nays by Mann, Mikva, Scariano, and R. V. Walsh). (June 14, 1963)

HB 266 Prohibits professional boxing. Defeated 46-104. (June 17, 1963)

SB 693 Requires at least a three-foot fence around each private swimming pool or pond artificially constructed except those ponds located on a fenced-in farm, fishing pond area or certain other commercial areas. Defeated 55-42. (June 18, 1963)

HB 211 Prohibits use of public assistance records for political or commercial purposes. Permits inspection of records by the public. Passed 109-27. (June 18, 1963)

HB 1087 Requires savings and loan associations to pay interest to borrowers, computed quarterly, upon periodic payments advanced to such associations for taxes and insurance. Defeated 20-101. (June 18, 1963)

SB 511 Provides that \$25 plus 50% of the next \$75 of a recipient's earned income shall be disregarded in making the determination of general assistance. Passed 163-0. (June 18, 1963)

HB 1589 Increases compensation of members of General Assembly to \$9,000 per year (now \$6,000). Provides additional yearly compensation of \$3,000 for Speaker of House, \$2,000 for majority and minority leaders of each house, and \$1,500 for majority and minority whips. Passed 125-29. (June 18, 1963)

HB 1369 Increases compensation of members of General Assembly from \$6,000 to \$7,500 per year. Passed 136-15. (June 19, 1963)

HB 1007 Establishes a statewide curfew from 12:00 midnight on Friday and Saturday nights, and from 11:00 p.m. other nights until 6:00 a.m. for persons under 18 years of age. Passed 125-6 (Nays by R. E. Anderson, Austin, Erlenborn, Heiple, Peskin, and Rowe). (June 19, 1963)

HB 1558 Appropriates \$700,000 for a new residence for the Governor. Passed 112-45. (June 19, 1963)

SB 550 Provides for election of mayor and aldermen of Chicago in November, 1966, and quadrennially thereafter. Repeals present non-partisan elections of aldermen, placing them under primary system. Tabled. (June 20, 1963)

HB 755 Prohibits certain practices of discrimination in housing accommodation because of race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry. Creates a Fair Housing Practices Commission. Defeated 86-68. (June 20, 1963)

HB 1521 Increases Municipal Retailers' Occupation Tax from 1/2% to 1%. Reduces property tax. Passed 91-77. (June 20, 1963)

HB 1522 Increases Cigarette Tax from 1 to 3 cents per package. Permits the levy of both the cigarette and sales tax during the same period. Passed 95-65. (June 20, 1963)

HB 1523 Increases Municipal Service Occupation Tax from 1/2% to 1%. Passed 91-74. (June 20, 1963)

HB 1524 Provides for a municipal sales tax on alcoholic liquor. Passed 95-68. (June 20, 1963)

SB 1000 Abolishes the Public Aid Commission and creates the Dept. of Public Aid. Passed 152-11. (June 20, 1963)

HB 978 Reapportions the State of Illinois into 9 representative districts in Cook County outside Chicago, 21 districts in Chicago, and 29 districts outside Cook County. Passed 89-81. (June 21, 1963)

HB 1561 Provides that the birth of a second illegitimate child to a woman with whom a child receiving aid is living to be prima facie evidence that the home in which the child is living is not suitable to its welfare. Passed 109-17. (June 21, 1963)

HB 1562 Provides that parentage of two or more illegitimate children is grounds of unfitness for taking away the child. Passed

HB 1471 Allows counties or cities over 1,000,000 population to require that Grade A milk product containers be dated for sale. Defeated 81-59. (June 21, 1963)

HB 1578 Gives Dept. of Public Health certain power and duties relating to phenylketonuria and requires physicians to report known cases. Passed 101-24. (June 21, 1963)

SB 788 in municipalities other than Chicago, housing authorities are authorized to initiate, plan, study, and execute urban conservation projects, subject to the approval of the governing bodies of the municipalities and the State Housing Board for the conservation of urban residential areas and the prevention of slums. Passed 94-63. (June 24, 1963)

SB 1228 Provides for classes for instruction

in basic adult education, or vocational training of recipients, former recipients, and potential recipients under the Public Assistance Code. Passed 146 4 (Nays by Heiple, Hunsicker, Rosander, and Rowe). (June 25, 1963)

SB 1190 Provides for the supervision of private, denominational, and parochial schools by the superintendent of public instruction to prohibit the teaching of racial hatred and superiority. Defeated 81-27. (June 27, 1963)

SB 1176 Creates a Commission on Capital Punishment. Passed 98-32. (June 27, 1963)

SB 1039 Provides that a person commits eavesdropping when he uses an eavesdropping device to hear or record all or any part of any oral conversation without the consent of all parties thereto. Passed 94-32. (June 27, 1963)

	HB8	HB253	HB254	HB255	HB693	SB313	HB800	HB266	SB693	HB211	HB1087	HB1589	HB1369	HB1558	HB755	HB1521	HB1522	HB1523	HB1524	SB1000	HB98	HB978	HB1561	HB1562	HB1471	HB1578	SB788	SB1190	SB1176	SB1039
Alsop (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	A	Y	Y	A	P	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Anderson, M. K. (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	A	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Anderson, R. E. (R)	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	A	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Armstrong (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	A	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Austin (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	A	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Bairstow (D)	A	A	A	A	N	N	Y	Y	A	N	A	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Baker (D)	A	A	A	A	N	N	Y	Y	A	N	A	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Baltz (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	A	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Barry (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	A	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Bartoline (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	I	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Blades (R)	Y	N	N	N	A	N	A	A	A	Y	A	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Branson (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	A	A	N	Y	A	Y	A	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Brouillet (R)	A	A	A	A	A	Y	A	A	N	Y	A	Y	A	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Brydia (R)	Y	N	N	N	N	A	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	A	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Burgoon (R)	A	N	N	N	A	N	A	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Burhans (R)	A	A	A	A	Y	A	A	Y	A	Y	A	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Callan (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Campbell (R)	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	A	A	N	A	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Capuzi (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Carrigan (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	A	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Carroll (R)	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	N	A	A	A	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Carter (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	A	N	Y	A	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Ceaser (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	A	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Choate (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	A	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Clabaugh (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	A	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Clarke (R)	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Conner (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Conolly (R)	Y	N	Y	Y	A	Y	N	N	N	A	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Costello (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	N	Y	A	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Course (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	A	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Coutrakon (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	A	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Craig (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Dale (R)	A	A	A	A	N	A	A	Y	A	A	N	N	N	A	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Dammerman (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	A	N	A	N	P	A	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Davidson (R)	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	A	Y	A	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Davis (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	N	Y	A	Y	N	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Dawson (R)	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	A	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
DeMichaels (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
DiPrima (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Dolezal (R)	A	A	A	A	Y	N	A	N	Y	Y	N	A	Y	Y	N	N	A	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Donnewald (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	A	Y	N	A	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Donovan (R)	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	A	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Downes (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	A	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Downey (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	A	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Elward (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Erlenborn (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	A	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Euzzino (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	N	A	N	A	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Fary (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Finfgeld (R)	N	A	A	A	Y	A	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Fitzgerrell (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	A	A	N	A	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Gardner (R)	Y	N	N	N	A	N	A	N	A	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Glenn (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	A	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Graham (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	A	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Granata (R)	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	A	Y	Y	Y	A	N	Y	Y	A	A	A	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Hachmeister (R)	A	A	A	A	Y	N	N	A	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Hale (R)	Y	A	A	A	Y	A	A	A	N	A	N	A	A	Y	A	A	A	A	A	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Hall (R)	Y	A	A	A	A	N	N	Y	A	Y	A	N	N	A	N	N	N	N	N	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Hannigan (D)	A	A	A	A	Y	Y	A	N	Y	A	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Hansen (R)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Harris (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	A	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Heiple (R)	Y	A	A	A	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Hill (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Hittmeier (R)	Y	A	A	A	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	N	N	A	A	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Holloway (D)	A	A	A	A	N	A	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	N	Y	A	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Holten (D)	A	A	A	A	Y	Y	A	A	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	A	A	A	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Horsley (R)	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	P	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y				

[illegible]

Letters

(continued from page 5)

less expensive than outright purchase of the land. A conservation easement does not deprive the landowner of his land but does restrict his right to make changes in the natural condition of the landscape within sight of the stream. He cannot cut any trees or erect any buildings within the easement area, but he can continue farming the land already under cultivation and selective harvesting of mature timber can be permitted under government supervision. The owner is paid for the rights which he gives up but the amount is much less than the total value of the land since what he gives up is usually only the right to do something in the future. Furthermore, only land within sight of the river is involved, so the total acreage is much less than if the government were to buy outright the lands up to 3 - 4 miles back from the river banks.

Another great advantage of the conservation easement as a protective device is that it prevents not only the landowner from developing the easement area but also prevents the government from coming in and erecting camps, picnic tables, etc., which it could do if it owned the land outright. In other words, no one can do anything within the easement area. This is the way to preserve the natural condition. If development is the objective, then of course outright purchase is necessary as contemplated by the Park Service plans.

If we are not to develop the Current River as a recreational center, then what can be done to aid the local economy and meet the anticipated demand for recreation? The answer to this is also almost too simple. There are now over one million acres of National Forests in southeast Missouri which represent a tremendous untapped resource for recreation. A program of small man-made lakes throughout this area could be developed at relatively small expense. A twenty acre lake can be built for about \$25,000. Five million dollars (one-half the estimated cost

of the Park Service plan) would build some 200 lakes. This would be providing new recreation, would spread the recreation over a large area, and would provide a safer, more desirable type of recreation for the average city dweller than would the swift and often treacherous Current River.

This may well be the last chance to preserve the Current River but, when we do something, let it be something that really will preserve the river, not destroy it in the name of preservation.

Davis Biggs
St. Louis

Mr. Leonard Hall replies:

One must compliment Mr. Biggs on his opening flight of poetic fantasy which, unfortunately, continues throughout his letter. He charges those who would preserve Current River in perpetuity for the American people with "commercialism" and states "it boils down to preservation versus the almighty dollar."

Mr. Biggs knows that the interests with which he is allied in the effort to prevent preservation by the National Park Service, actually own more land in the Current River country than would be set aside in the Ozark National Rivers area. These interests have made determined efforts to establish pulp mills on the river which would destroy it forever as a recreational stream. They have promoted intensive mining exploration on these properties.

While entirely legitimate business enterprises, pulp mills, and mines can hardly be considered non-commercial or unrelated to pursuit of the almighty dollar.

It is interesting for one who has worked for 30 years in the forefront of the conservation movement at considerable personal sacrifice, to be called by implication a "promoter of roller rinks, hamburger stands, curio shops and tawdry roadside bric-a-brac."

One point: I have never, as Mr. Biggs implies, mentioned 800,000 or any other number of visitors or any amount of tourist facilities. It is inevitable, however, that with the doubling of our 185 million population in a few years and with the recreational potential of the Ozarks, these things will come.

Every alternative plan put forward, no matter how futile, in opposition to preservation of this area by creation of the Ozark National Rivers, has originated and been promoted by the interests with whom Mr. Biggs is

Report On Level Of Radioactivity

The following table prepared by the U.S. Public Health Service provides information on concentrations of radioactivity in milk samples. FOCUS/Midwest publishes these reports on iodine 131, strontium 89, and strontium 90 for Chicago, Kansas City, St. Louis. The data given are in terms of micromicrocuries per liter of milk (1.05 quarts).

(The data below is the latest made available. Fallout analyses are also prepared by the St. Louis City and County Department of Public Health for their area. These indicate that the cumulative dose of I-131 for one year [8-26-62 to 8-26-63] was 7,120; and the cumulative dose of SR-90 for one year [7-1-62 to 6-30-63] was 6,140, in the St. Louis region.)

Some appreciation of the significance of estimated intake levels can be obtained by comparison with the Federal Radiation Council guides (see column "Acceptable Risk").

City	Average Daily Level			Total For Past 12 Months		
	May 1963			As of May 1963		As of June 1963
	Sr-89	Sr-90	I-131	Sr-89	Sr-90	I-131
Acceptable Risk	2000	200	100	730,000	73,000	36,500
Chicago	25	19	10	10,870	5,285	11,840
Kansas City	170	40	10	32,830	6,615	16,390
St. Louis	115	24	10	20,510	5,565	9,740
<i>HIGHEST REPORTS FROM THROUGHOUT THE NATION</i>						
Chattanooga, Tenn.	235					
Minot, N.D.		56				
Salt Lake City, Utah			10			
New Orleans, La.				54,040		
Little Rock, Ark.					12,355	
Paleur, Alaska						37,180

allied here. None of these plans can possibly "limit use of the rivers" which Mr. Biggs says is essential. None can regulate or supervise this use, which I say is absolutely essential.

The remainder of Mr. Biggs' letter contains inaccuracies and semantic convolutions which could only be answered on a sentence by sentence basis. Since space limitations make this impossible, I urge a re-reading of my article "Last Chance for the Current River."

St. Louis County Education

F/M: As a member of the Kirkwood (Mo.) R-7 Board of Education I was particularly interested (in Frank Lloyd's article "Education in St. Louis County"). The magazine is stimulating, thoughtful and impressive. I shall look forward to future issues.

Mrs. John K. Bryan
Kirkwood, Mo.

University of Mississippi

F/M: We will be leaving Mississippi, thank God, in five or six more weeks for the University of More than fifty other professors have

also resigned to date, with a significant number still looking for the right job. Things are still quite unsettled here, although on the surface life seems calm enough.

Wife of a faculty member
University of Mississippi

(EDITOR'S NOTE: The above letter is by the author of the "Out of Focus" column in the May 1963

issue. It dealt with the circumstances under which Mr. James H. Meredith enrolled at the University of Mississippi. We are withholding the signature of the letter, for the same reason the column had to remain anonymous. Provost Charles E. Noyes of the University of Mississippi, declared that faculty resignations were the highest on record.)

luncheon, 11 to 4 p.m.
dinner, 4 to 10 p.m.
late snacks 10 p.m.
to 2 a.m.

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